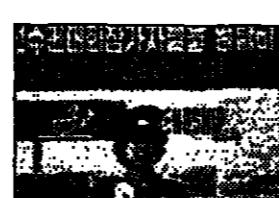


COUNTDOWN TO EDINBURGH

Why subsidiarity needs a clearer definition
Page 17

Why any EC growth package should include tax cuts
Page 16



South Korea

The slow transition towards democracy
Page 16

American Express

The Robinson years
Page 19

Survey

Israel
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FINANCIAL TIMES

MONDAY DECEMBER 7 1992

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Europe's Business Newspaper

Russian PM may be voted out in anti-Yeltsin move

Boris Yeltsin's parliamentary opponents, who failed at the weekend to deprive the Russian president of his power to form governments, are likely to return to the offensive today by refusing to endorse Yegor Gaidar as prime minister.

Members of the Congress of People's Deputies hope to put a stop to economic policies they describe as "contrary to the interests of Russian citizens" by removing Mr Gaidar. Page 18: UN gloomy on ex-Soviet states' economic hopes, Page 2: Congress converts no-one, Page 3

Generals In a surprise move one of the Italian insurer's three managing directors has resigned, triggering speculation about differences of opinion among the top management. Page 21

Peace moves Palestinian leaders yesterday gave their delegation the go-ahead to attend the latest round of Middle East peace talks in Washington today after their call for a boycott was brushed aside by Syria, Jordan and Lebanon. Page 4

Bentsen likely to head economic team US President-elect Bill Clinton is expected to announce the first appointments to his administration this week, beginning with an economic team headed by Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas (left). Mr Bentsen, chairman of the Senate finance committee, is thought to be all

but certain to be named as Treasury secretary. Page 18; Protest over Clinton files, Page 6

Poll probes South Korea's government is investigating alleged electoral malpractices by Hyundai, the industrial conglomerate, as the presidential bid by its founder, Chung Ju-yung, appeared to be rapidly gaining strength less than two weeks before the elections. Page 4

Fortes The UK hotel and restaurant group is this week expected to move closer to its aim of becoming more internationally-based with the acquisition of a chain of French motorway restaurants and the conclusion of an agreement to run 18 hotels in Italy. Page 19

Barclays The UK bank this week becomes the first European bank to provide companies with a new form of short-term financing which allows them to build up their order books without borrowing directly from banks. Page 19

China concern China's unbending attitude toward Hong Kong is causing increasing concern among western diplomats and some mainland Chinese officials in the colony, who are worried about the consequences for Beijing's relations with the US and Taiwan. Page 4

European Monetary System A series of statements from Paris and Bonn, defending the party of the franc and D-Mark within the EMS, helped to ease tension in a fraught system by the end of last week. The statements were sparked by speculation about a devaluation of the franc, as the currency languished dangerously near the floor of the ERM grid. A concerted effort to quash the rumours, including intervention from both countries, helped to bolster the franc. Many of the ERM currencies were also helped by the gloomy economic statistics out of Germany, which hit the D-Mark towards the end of the week.

EMS Grid December 4, 1992

The chart shows the member currencies of the exchange rate mechanism measured against the weakest currency in the EMS's narrow 2.25 per cent fluctuation band. In practice, currencies in the narrow band cannot rise more than 2.25 per cent from the weakest currency in that part of the system. The Spanish peseta and Portuguese escudo operate with 6 per cent fluctuation bands.

Club Méditerranée, one of the largest French leisure groups, still best known for its holiday villages, returned to profit for last year following a recovery in its airline business. Page 21

30 die in Afghanistan Peace efforts began in Kabul yesterday as doctors reported at least 30 people dead and hundreds wounded in two days of fighting between two groups in Afghanistan's interim government. Page 21

Anti-racist rally More 300 Germans protested in Munich against racist attacks on foreigners. Bild am Sonntag newspaper said two US banks had cancelled east German investment plans because of the violence against foreigners.

Dow Chemical, the second biggest US chemicals group, which suffered a 35 per cent decline in third quarter net income to \$145m, has unveiled a reorganisation aimed at improving international competitiveness. Page 21

Heated arguments Italy's fledgling privatisation programme has been hit by an unexpected spat over a state-owned potato crisp maker. Page 18

Referendum will delay EC-Efta treaty ■ Issue splits French and German speakers

Swiss reject closer European ties

By Ian Rodger in Zurich

SWITZERLAND yesterday said "No" to closer European integration, causing a domestic political crisis and further problems for the European Community. In a national referendum on joining the European Economic Area, 50.3 per cent of voters rejected the government proposal.

Under Swiss law, a majority of the 23 cantons is also required. A decisive 16, including industrial and financial cantons such as Zurich and Zug, rejected a move towards closer European integration.

The rejection of the EEA treaty, which would link the seven countries of the European

Free Trade Association and the 12 European Community countries in an enlarged common market, may also hurt the prospects for economic recovery in other Efta countries.

The planned introduction of the EEA on January 1 will now have to be delayed for at least six months while these countries renegotiate the details of EEA entry.

European governments registered disappointment at the Swiss vote, but expressed determination to start the EEA without Switzerland. In Brussels, Mr Frans Andriessen, the EC external affairs commissioner, said Switzerland had chosen the path of isolation.

HOW THEY VOTED

	YES	NO
Cantons	7	16
Popular vote (%)	49.7	50.3

Mr Jacques Delors, the Commission president, said there would now be talks to change the treaty. He confirmed that the vote added up to a rejection not only of the EEA but also of the EC, which the Berne government had applied to join.

Among Switzerland's partners in Efta, Finland's foreign trade

minister Mr Pertti Salolainen said on Sunday he was disappointed by the Swiss rejection of the EEA and that the implementation of the agreement would now be delayed. "This means difficulties... because we cannot start the agreement at the same time as the internal market is realised in the EC," Mr Salolainen said.

In Switzerland, there was also concern yesterday that the vote could prolong Switzerland's recession and could put pressure on the Swiss franc and Swiss shares in financial markets.

The political crisis arises because of the clear split in the voting between the country's majority German speaking community, which voted heavily against the treaty, and the minority French speaking community, which voted equally decisively for it.

The Swiss have until now been successful in protecting minorities, but the outcome of this vote could inflame passions on both

sides of the country's linguistic divide. Both were clearly determined to give no quarter to the other. There were record turnouts in many cantons, and every German speaking canton, except Basle, rejected the EEA.

The linguistic division in the voting showed up even in the cantons which have both French and German speaking communities. In the cantons of Fribourg, Valais and Bern, the minority communities voted on linguistic lines.

Mr René Felber, the Swiss president, said the clear rift between

Continued on Page 18
Swiss step back, Page 2
Editorial comment, Page 16

India faces crisis as militants demolish mosque

By Shiraz Sidhva in New Delhi and Stefan Wagstyl in Ayodhya

INDIA faced a major political and constitutional crisis last night after Hindu militants stormed and demolished an ancient mosque in Ayodhya, prompting widespread fears of communal violence across the country.

Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, the prime minister, appealed for calm, as regulatory police orders were imposed and the army alerted in many Indian states. Addressing the nation on television, Mr Rao said his government would go to any extent to promote secularism and appealed to every citizen to co-operate.

Tension escalated in several communally-sensitive states as news spread that the disputed mosque had been demolished by hordes of Hindu militants who had converged on Ayodhya over the last week to protest against the government's failure to resolve the issue.

Some 200 para-military police were inside the barricades at the time they were stormed. But within minutes they had retreated to a nearby building and played no further part as around 200,000 Hindus stormed the barricades and clambered atop the mosque's three dilapidated domes.

Dressed in saffron robes and chanting religious slogans, the militants defied court orders and disobeyed the same Hindu political leaders who had used the temple issue to muster support for a Hindu nation.

Within three hours all three domes had been reduced to rubble, which was carried away as souvenirs by a jubilant crowd that had accomplished what the courts and successive governments had been trying to prevent. The few hundred paramilitary police on guard within the mosque did little to hide their sympathy for the militants.

The 16th century Babri mosque which was built on a temple site claimed by Hindus to be the birthplace of the god Ram, has come to symbolise India as a secular state, guaranteed by the constitution. The right-wing Hindu Bharatiya Janata Party has, over the last three years, become the largest opposition party by politicising a dispute that dates back to independence.

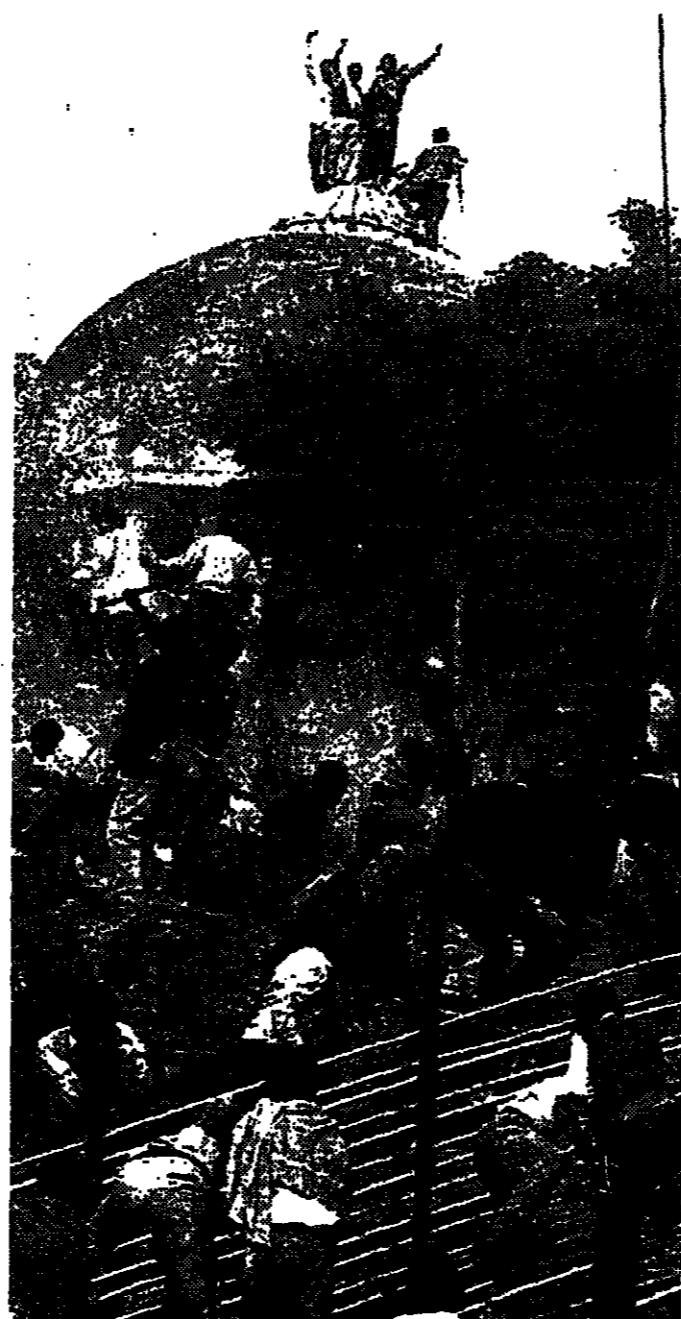
Government direct rule was imposed in Uttar Pradesh, India's largest and most politically crucial state where Ayodhya is located. Mr Kalyan Singh, the chief minister, who wrested power in an election 18 months ago on a promise to build a Hindu temple on the site of the mosque, resigned late last night. Hours later his government, propped by the BJP, was dismissed.

Mr Robinson, denied that he was being forced out because of losses at the company's credit card business, reduced profits and pressure on its stock price.

He claimed he had not wished to serve more than 15 years in the job. However he agreed with some criticisms of his management by Wall Street analysts.

Mr Robinson made the announcement after Fortune magazine issued a press release foreshadowing a story which claimed the resignation had been dictated by the American Express board "in a quiet coup" that began last September.

The 57-year-old Mr Robinson, who is heading the search committee, said that he would probably leave the chief executive's post at age 58, during 1993.



Chief of American Express to resign

By Alan Friedman in New York

MR James Robinson, embattled chairman and chief executive of American Express, the large US travel and financial services group, yesterday said he would resign as chief executive next year, as soon as a successor had been chosen.

Mr Robinson, denied that he was being forced out because of losses at the company's credit card business, reduced profits and pressure on its stock price.

Mr Robinson said he told the board of his plans for succession last September, the day before a board meeting. "I said I did not want to stay on past the age of 60 and that it was time to develop the succession process. We had a good, long and vigorous discussion about succession at the board meeting the next day."

The 57-year-old Mr Robinson, who is heading the search committee, said that he would probably leave the chief executive's post at age 58, during 1993.

Members of the American Express board, which includes Observer, Page 17
Corporate titan, Page 19

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By Lionel Barber in Brussels and Ralph Atkins in London

BRITAIN is preparing new proposals aimed to break the deadlock on the European Community budget which hangs over the EC summit in Edinburgh this week.

Mr John Major, UK prime minister, is hoping that a more generous approach will win the support of Spain, which is threatening to block progress on the budget in an attempt to secure more "cohesion" funds for poorer EC members including Greece, Ireland and Portugal.

Spain's tough tactics are being compared in London with the pursuit of a budget rebate in the early 1980s by Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the former British prime minister. UK officials are guardedly optimistic that a deal can be struck, probably by using the structural funds budget, the contingency fund or both.

Yesterday, Sir Leon Brittan, the European Competition Commissioner, said on BBC television that a deal on future financing could be reached if Britain kept its rebate but agreed to increase its proposal for the EC budget "by a small amount". He also said an agreement by Britain that the new European central bank should be based in Bonn would help to secure "Britain's

objectives in all other respects".

Another problem is how to meet Danish demands for exemptions from parts of the Maastricht treaty, including an opt-out from a single European currency.

EDINBURGH SUMMIT

Page 2

History offers bad omen

Page 17

Twelve men in search of common meaning

■ Samuel Brittan Page 16

Observer

Page 17

foreign office minister, appeared pessimistic about the lack at Edinburgh - perhaps deliberately so as to lower expectations.

On London Weekend Television, he said EC members were "a long way apart" on the question of future financing, while finding agreement on subsidiarity and enlargement would be a "very difficult exercise indeed".

A British paper on the Danish issue has been criticised by Danish opposition parties, as well as five Christian Democratic leaders in Europe, including Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany. They met last Friday in Brussels and called for "revisions" in the text. These difficulties are viewed in London as inevitable but not insurmountable.

Britain, which chairs the rotating EC presidency, has worked closely with the European Council secretariat on the proposed text. It is described as an internal agreement binding by law which falls short of re-opening the Maastricht treaty or requiring re-ratification by member states.

An EC ambassador described the document as "tougher than expected"; other diplomats gave it a cautious welcome because it dampened suspicions that the UK intended to take Denmark's side.

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NEWS: INTERNATIONAL

Signing will take weeks

Argentina in deal on debt reduction

By Stephen Fidler, Latin America Editor

THE Argentine government and its leading bank creditors began signing a bank debt reduction agreement yesterday at a televised ceremony in Buenos Aires. The agreement covers \$23bn of medium- and long-term bank debt and \$9bn of arrears on interest payments.

The signing, at which representatives from the 13 banks on Argentina's bank advisory committee were present, is the second last stage of the Brady-style agreement.

The signing is expected to take several weeks, as hundreds of creditors – including individuals who have bought the debt at a discount from face value to make speculative gains – put their signature to the accord. The agreement, negotiations over which were started in January, will be completed by an exchange of concessionary bonds for bank debt, probably next April.

In a speech at the ceremony, President Carlos Menem underlined the importance of an accord which would restore the country's creditworthiness. Argentine officials see it as the

latest step in the government's aim to normalise the country's international relations.

Mr William Rhodes, vice chairman of Citibank, Argentina's leading bank creditor, said the agreement "regularised" the country's relations with commercial banks and underlined the government's commitment to sound economic policies.

After the ceremony, economy minister Mr Domingo Cavallo left for Japan on a trip aimed at encouraging Japanese finance for the agreement.

The accord is the latest in a series of debt reduction agreements under the Brady plan which have also benefited countries such as Mexico and Costa Rica. The plan is named after US Treasury Secretary, Mr Nicholas Brady.

The agreement, bankers say, should improve the country's access to international financial markets and reduce its cost of borrowing, at present at least two percentage points above the costs of funds for Mexico. Under the accord, some 65 per cent of the debt will be shielded from future rises in interest rates through bonds carrying pre-set interest rates.

Slovene president is expected to win re-election

By Laura Silber in Ljubljana

SLOVENES yesterday braved the cold to vote in the first elections since the republic broke away from Yugoslavia in June 1991.

Mr Milan Kucan, the widely respected president of Slovenia, is the strong favourite to win re-election, while the new 130-seat bicameral parliament is likely to be split among a leftist coalition, liberal and centre-right parties.

But many Slovenes in Ljubljana, the capital, yesterday worried whether Mr Zmago Jelincic, an ultra-nationalist whose party has recently risen in popularity, would win support as a parliamentary candidate among the 145m voters in the tiny Alpine republic.

In nearby Vrhnika, where Mr Jelincic is running, many voters feared his extremism. "He is dangerous. He hopes to 'ethnically cleanse' Slovenia – but every citizen should have the same rights: Slovene or not," said a 50-year-old factory worker who spoke on condition of anonymity and voted for the reformed communists.

But next to him, Mr Mihal Miran said: "All my friends are

voting for Jelincic. A vote for him is a vote for the Slovene people and Slovenia." Mr Jelincic has called for the expulsion of some 130,000 guest-workers from the former Yugoslavia.

Mr Peter Bekes, an official of the reformed Communists' party, warned against playing down the significance of Mr Jelincic's popularity. "Hitler at first captured only 3 per cent of the vote. These totalitarian movements do not respect the rules of democracy."

Turnout was expected to be high throughout the republic. Election results are expected today.

Amid battles in Bosnia, General Aly Abdul Razek, the commander of UN forces in Sarajevo, at the weekend declared the failure of their peacekeeping mission. He called on the international community to set a one-month deadline before intervening militarily to end the war in Bosnia, where Serbs have seized control of 70 per cent of the republic.

In Sarajevo, fighting intensified after Serb forces continued their onslaught on the Bosnian capital as they seized control of Oto, a key western suburb.

Turnout likely to be low in Venezuela poll

By Joseph Mann in Caracas

VENEZUELA, who have seen two military uprisings against their government this year, went to the polls yesterday in nationwide elections for state governors, mayors, city councils and parish councils.

But politicians are concerned that disaffection with Venezuela's democracy will translate into low voter turnout.

Only 10.39m Venezuelans, about half the country's population, are registered as voters. This would suggest that most do not believe that their ballots will change anything, despite

exhortations by the media and politicians to go out and vote.

Voter abstention nationwide stood at more than 54 per cent during the last state and local elections, in 1989, although voting is compulsory.

Even though most Venezuelans rejected a call by military rebels and leftist extremists to join a rebellion on November 27, most people still appear to have a low opinion of the country's democracy.

Moreover, doubts exist as to whether voters will continue to opt for the "establishment" parties, or back the left and independent candidates.

EUROPEAN FINANCE & INVESTMENT

ITALY

The FT proposes to publish this survey on December 16 1992. The above survey will be distributed to 160 countries worldwide including Italy. In Europe 92% of the professional investment community regularly read the FT. If you want to reach this important audience, please call (in Italy):

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Data source: * The Professional Investment Community Worldwide 1991 (MPG Int)

FT SURVEYS

Russian congress converts no-one to democracy

By Leyla Boultou in Moscow

"DEPUTIES: get rid of this government of Chicago gangsters," read the telegram pinned on the notice-board at the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow.

But most Russians, concentrating on a struggle for survival, are indifferent to the drama which will continue to unfold this week in the Kremlin as the full parliament continues to fight President Boris Yeltsin's painful economic reforms.

"I don't trust anybody," was how one army officer, who moonlights as a security guard to his family, summed up the feelings of many Russians.

Although many of the deputies' complaints reflect real popular grievances, congress proposals for action adopted at the weekend either defend narrow vested interests such as the state farms – or make potentially disastrous populist promises. An attempt to set up a system of parliamentary government, narrowly defeated at the weekend, would have led to chronically unstable cabinets that would have plunged the

country further into crisis.

Not surprising, an opinion poll quoted by Ostankino television found that while 57 per cent of the population is dissatisfied with the government, 59 per cent is also dissatisfied with parliament.

The high point of last week's proceedings, a punch-up between deputies, spoke volumes of the absurdity of an institution which is only formally democratic. If anything, its performance has served to encourage popular disillusionment with democratic practice.

Elected in the days of communist domination of society, its unwieldy 1,000-plus membership makes it even more open to manipulation than the smaller standing parliament, the Supreme Soviet. The parliamentary chairman, Mr Ruslan Khasbulatov, a power-hungry figure promoted by Mr Yeltsin to the latter's subsequent regret, cuts an equally paradoxical figure as standard-bearer of democracy.

Pursuing his own personal power struggle by promoting the failed attempt to deprive the president of the right to form the government, he will



Muscovites pass a Communist poster reading "Turn [Prime Minister Yegor] Gaidar into soap"

resume the offensive by backtracking calls for Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar today and promising new trouble when the congress next meets in April.

Tajik war refugees stranded at border

UP to 140,000 refugees fleeing Tajikistan's civil strife are stranded near the Afghan border, Reuter reports from Tashkent.

"We were told by Russian border guards that the number of refugees near the Afghan frontier has reached 140,000," said Mr Dieter Pfaff, head of the International Committee of the Red Cross mission in the Tajik capital Dushanbe.

"We're unable to reach the area, but we are planning our relief operation on the basis of these figures."

Hundreds of people in the

impoverished Central Asian republic have been killed in fighting between ex-Communist rebels and Islamic militants since former President Rahmon Nabiyev was ousted in September.

Mr Pfaff said up to 500,000 people, 10 per cent of the population, were believed to have been displaced by the fighting.

The refugees were fleeing recent fighting in the southern town of Sharzat about 15 miles north of the Afghan border, which is guarded by Russian troops.

Spain oil slick spreads

AN OIL slick from the Greek tanker Aegean Sea spread along Spain's northwestern coast yesterday despite efforts to prevent it from destroying valuable marine ecosystems and invading beaches, Reuter reports from La Coruna.

Efforts to extract crude oil still stored in the stricken tanker were frustrated by heavy swell and fires burning in the engine room, La Coruna governor, Pilar Lledo told reporters.

She said the authorities were unwilling to risk human lives in salvaging the tanker while it remained closed yesterday.

Its situation was still unstable. The oil had covered an area of 19 square miles by early yesterday and environmentalists feared it could spread as far as 60 miles and devastate shellfish beds which provide much of the region's livelihood.

Local unions and ecology groups claimed the authorities had failed to take sufficient preventive measures.

Beaches along the Betanzos and Ares estuaries, northeast of La Coruna, were covered with oil and the slick was bearing in on Ferrol, whose port remained closed yesterday.

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NEWS: INTERNATIONAL

Inquiry may blunt campaign of industrialist Chung Ju-yung

Election crackdown on Hyundai

By John Burton and Alexander Nicoll in Seoul

SOUTH Korea's government was yesterday investigating alleged electoral malpractices by Hyundai, the industrial conglomerate, as the presidential bid by its founder, Mr Chung Ju-yung, appeared to be rapidly gaining strength less than two weeks before the elections.

The government's attempt to crack down on Hyundai could blunt the momentum of Mr Chung, whose campaign may determine the outcome of the December 18 elections. He is taking votes from the candidate of the ruling Democratic Liberal party, Mr Kim Young-sam, potentially tipping the balance towards the main opposition candidate, Mr Kim Dae-jung.

The inquiry by police, the prosecutor's office, and tax and banking authorities is examining allegations that Hyundai is illegally diverting funds into Mr Chung's campaign and forcing Hyundai employees to canvass for him.

Police yesterday arrested four Hyundai executives, including the president of Hyundai Wood Materials, on charges of illegal campaigning for the group's founder.

The police had sought the arrests after a junior accounting clerk of Hyundai Heavy Industries, a subsidiary of the group, told a press conference that Won32bn (\$41m) was secretly transferred from a Hyundai subsidiary to Mr Chung's United People's party (UPP). Hyundai and the party deny the allegation.

Mr Chung acknowledges that Hyundai employees are working in his campaign but says their involvement is voluntary.

He says his campaign is funded by sales of his own holdings in Hyundai group companies.

Mr Chung Se-yung, the Hyundai chairman and younger brother of its founder, threatened: "The Hyundai group may be forced to shut down as long as the persecution goes on to disrupt the normal operation of the group."

Mr Chung's campaign has gained ground, according to private polls conducted by all three parties – public opinion polls are banned during the campaign. All polls agree that Mr Kim Young-sam is the front-runner but the opposition parties say his lead is narrowing as Mr Chung cuts into his middle-class conservative support.

Mr Chung's populist platform, which includes promises of a trebling of per-capita income within five years and deep cuts in apartment rents, is striking a chord with an electorate concerned about Korea's slowing economic growth.

He is attracting protest votes reflecting dissatisfaction with the political establishment as represented by the Kims, who both stood unsuccessfully in the last presidential election in 1987.

UPP officials say the Hyundai investigation is a deliberate attempt by the government to undermine Mr Chung and reduce the threat he poses to Mr Kim Young-sam.

All the parties have been under investigation throughout the campaign for alleged vote-buying but the probe of links between the UPP and Hyundai has been the most public.

However, UPP officials hope that the investigation could



Thousands of supporters of Kim Young-sam attend a rally attended by him in Seoul yesterday. As presidential candidate of the ruling Democratic Liberal party, he remains the front-runner

create public sympathy for Mr Chung and win him support. Earlier this year, the UPP won more seats than expected in parliamentary elections after the government imposed tax penalties on Hyundai and Mr Chung in what was interpreted as a state attempt to thwart his political ambitions.

Whatever the outcome of the

investigation into Hyundai, Mr Chung has a formidable base of support among its 170,000 employees, many of whom are involved in the campaign. They are encouraging families, friends and customers to vote for Mr Chung and are turning out for his election rallies.

Race to unchain the dragon, Page 16

US initiative welcomed by Somali warlords

By Julian Ozanne in Mogadishu

SOMALIA'S two biggest warlords said at the weekend that they welcomed the presence of US Marines, poised offshore land in their country. But they added that Washington must make a long-term economic and political commitment to the war-ravaged nation rather than a purely short-term humanitarian intervention.

In his heavily fortified compound in the shell-blasted Somali capital of Mogadishu, General Mohamed Farrah Aideed, Somalia's most feared faction leader, also complained bitterly about not being consulted by the US over the military intervention, which is set to begin within the next 48 hours. "If we are not consulted by the US it will look more like an invasion force and that could cause problems for them," he said in an interview with the Financial Times.

Minutes later, he contradicted himself, saying that US troops would come to no harm in Somalia and that he would personally guarantee their safety.

Later in the day, six miles away across the green line which divides the rubble-strewn capital in half, Gen Aideed's foe, Mr Ali Mahdi Mohamed, was also guaranteeing the safety of US soldiers, to the background sound of intermittent shots.

The self-styled interim president said that, unlike Gen Aideed, he did not think he needed to be consulted by the US about the landing of foreign troops on Somali territory – a

bizarre admission for a man who still claims, despite all the chaos and fragmentation of the country, to be the legitimate head of a sovereign government.

The war between Gen Aideed and the former hotelier, caused largely by the general's thirst for absolute power and clan rivalry and greed over scarce resources, has plunged Somalia in the past year into anarchy and starvation.

Both men adamantly denied they had any personal responsibility for the disintegration of their country, the death of at least 300,000 people from war-

related starvation this year or the Mafia-style protection racket which has terrorised and extorted tribute from aid agencies and prevented food from reaching those in need.

The two men appear to agree on little else except that the US must take a much more long-term view of intervention in Somalia.

The White House has said the 23,000-33,000 US forces will carry out a humanitarian operation to get food to an estimated 1.5m people at risk of death from starvation and will personally guarantee their safety.

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race to unchain the dragon, Page 16

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race to unchain the dragon, Page 16

Palestinian leaders drop call for Mideast talks boycott

By Hugh Carnegy in Jerusalem

PALESTINIAN leaders reluctantly gave their delegation the go-ahead to attend the latest round of Middle East peace talks, starting in Washington today, after their call for a boycott was brushed aside by fellow participants Syria, Jordan and Lebanon.

The snub underlined the Palestinians' weak position in the talks. The fifth anniversary on Wednesday of the start of the *intifada* – the uprising against Israeli rule in the occupied territories – will be further reminder of the painful alternatives they face.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation wanted to postpone the eighth round of bilateral negotiations with Israel until after the inauguration of President-elect Bill Clinton

next month to protest at Israel's tough stance in the year-old talks. But the suggestion was rejected at a meeting of the Arab parties in Beirut, attended also by Egypt.

Yesterday Mr Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli prime minister, said before leaving for visits to Italy and Britain that the Palestinians and, to a lesser extent, the other Arab delegations wanted to mark time until Mr Clinton was in place. But he added: "I still believe that agreements will emerge out of the peace talks in 1993."

The Palestinians fear their goal of full independence will be prejudiced by a planned interim stage of limited self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. But their case for reaching powers in the final stage is undermined by the PLO's acceptance of the two-stage structure when the pro-

cess was launched in Madrid in October 1991.

Both the Tunis-based PLO and local leaders fear they will not be able to secure an interim agreement acceptable to the rank and file, among whom Islamic fundamentalist and other rejectionist groups are active. Increasing disillusionment is reflected in a recent rise in violence in the territories.

Israeli troops have shot dead 17 Palestinians in clashes over the past month. The toll compares with eight killed in July. More than 560 Palestinians have been killed by Israelis during the course of the *intifada*. Just over 100 Israelis have died, and at least a further 550 Palestinians have died in inter-Arab violence. The security forces are braced for a surge of violence over Wednesday's anniversary.

Concern grows over China's HK stance

By Simon Holberton in Hong Kong

CHINA'S unbending attitude toward Hong Kong is causing increasing concern among western diplomats and some mainland Chinese officials in the colony, who are worried about the consequences for Beijing's relations with the US and Taiwan.

Diplomats say they are dismayed at the way in which Beijing's top leadership has interpreted a recent instruction from Deng Xiaoping, China's 88-year-old senior leader, to be tough with the British.

"We all know that Deng has said 'Teach the British a lesson,'" said the head of one western mission in Hong Kong. "But for that to be interpreted in the way it has been is quite worrying."

Last week, the local stock market fell sharply after a series of threats from Beijing were aimed at proposals for more democracy by Mr Chris Patten, the governor.

Brokers expect choppy trading ahead of this week's meeting of the Sino-British Joint Liaison Group – the body overseeing the transfer of Hong Kong

from the UK to China. A week ago, China said it would repudiate business contracts entered into by the Hong Kong government if they were not approved by Beijing.

There is growing concern in the US – especially among Democrats in Congress – of China's perceived intimidation of Hong Kong. China's sale of missile technology to Pakistan is also seen as weakening further the narrow base of support Beijing currently enjoys in Washington.

These concerns were echoed by local mainland officials in

Hong Kong, who also pointed out that Beijing ran the risk of undermining the Joint Declaration in the eyes of local people.

The Joint Declaration provides for Hong Kong to be ruled by Hong Kong people

and for it to enjoy a "high degree of autonomy" under the concept of "one country, two systems".

Beijing's statement a week ago that it would act on behalf of the future government of the colony in approving pre-1997 contracts was seen by some of its own officials as weakening these commitments.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INDICATORS: PRODUCTION AND EMPLOYMENT

Yearly data for retail sales volume and industrial production plus all data for the vacancy rate indicator are in index form with 1985 = 100. Quarterly and monthly data for retail sales and industrial production show the percentage change over the corresponding period in the previous year, and are positive unless otherwise stated. The unemployment rate is shown as a percentage of the total labour force. Figures for the composite leading indicator are end-period values.

	UNITED STATES		JAPAN		GERMANY		FRANCE		ITALY		UNITED KINGDOM				
	Retail sales volume	Industrial production	Unemployment rate	Vacancy rate	Composite leading indicator	Retail sales volume	Industrial production	Unemployment rate	Vacancy rate	Composite leading indicator	Retail sales volume	Industrial production	Unemployment rate	Vacancy rate	Composite leading indicator
1985	100.0	100.0	7.1	100.0	102.9	100.0	100.0	2.6	100.0	98.6	100.0	100.0	11.2	100.0	101.9
1986	105.7	101.0	6.9	98.0	101.3	103.4	102.2	2.9	94.3	105.4	102.4	100.1	10.2	102.4	103.2
1987	108.3	106.9	6.1	105.5	108.9	113.8	103.1	2.9	104.3	106.4	102.4	104.1	10.5	102.2	106.1
1988	112.3	111.6	5.4	106.1	114.3	122.8	112.9	2.5	105.8	149.4	107.3	105.2	10.2	102.1	106.2
1989	115.1	114.5	5.2	99.3	113.1	132.8	119.9	2.2	147.0	126.4	114.1	114.3	9.8	102.7	106.7
1990	115.4	115.7	5.4	84.5	109.1	142.0	125.3	2.1	149.7	124.4	115.4	114.3	9.6	102.4	106.5
1991	113.4	113.5	6.6	92.0	114.7	145.0	126.1	2.1	144.1	123.3	110.5	113.2	9.8	102.3	106.4
4th qtr. 1991	-0.5	-0.5	6.9	59.5	114.7	1.9	-1.6	2.1	140.3	123.3	-1.2	101.0	107.5	6.3	107.3
1st qtr. 1992	3.3	1.3	7.1	68.8	116.6	-0.8	-4.6	2.0	132.9	123.1	-2.8	104.1	105.2	6.5	107.9
2nd qtr. 1992	1.8	2.0	7.4	60.4	116.1	-3.5	-6.2	2.1	126.8	122.6	-4.2	101.1	102.0	6.7	108.2
3rd qtr. 1992	2.5	0.8	7.5	60.1	115.2	-6.1	-1.9	-1.6	126.1	108.0	-0.3	101.2	102.7	6.9	108.9
November 1991	-1.5	-0.2	6.8	59.1	113.5	4.1	-1.2	2.1	139.0	123.8	-0.2	101.0	102.0	6.4	107.2
December	0.5	0.2	7.0	59.9	114.7	-0.1	-1.8	2.1	136.3	123.3	0.7	102.4	103.5	6.5	107.3
January 19															

welcomed
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But at least six months and probably beyond to achieve something like the establishment of a government, a better effort, better policies, better leadership, recognition of the importance of reconciliation, job creation and economic development, creating a political recognition of the different factions which would then be in a position to pave the way for peace.

“Somalis have very negative reactions from the Americans. We see the Americans not just as the Americans but also as the Americans dressed in a white uniform and sitting behind a large, empty desk which is not open to his people. The Somalis must discern the difference between the Somalis and the Americans and if the Americans provide food and help to the Somalis then then we will be happy. Somalia is in the way.

“Mr. Madi added: “The government that with the help of the Somalis people will be a great opportunity for the Somalis offered a lot of stability and order and the Somalis stability. If the Somalis will benefit from the Somalis will be a great and a great opportunity for us.”

“The U.S. media share the same misconception of their role in the life of people in Africa.

“If the U.S. effort fails, there is a danger of disengagement. There is a danger to slide into a situation where there is little hope for the future.

“But there, Somalis also believe that the U.S. will rid them of themselves.

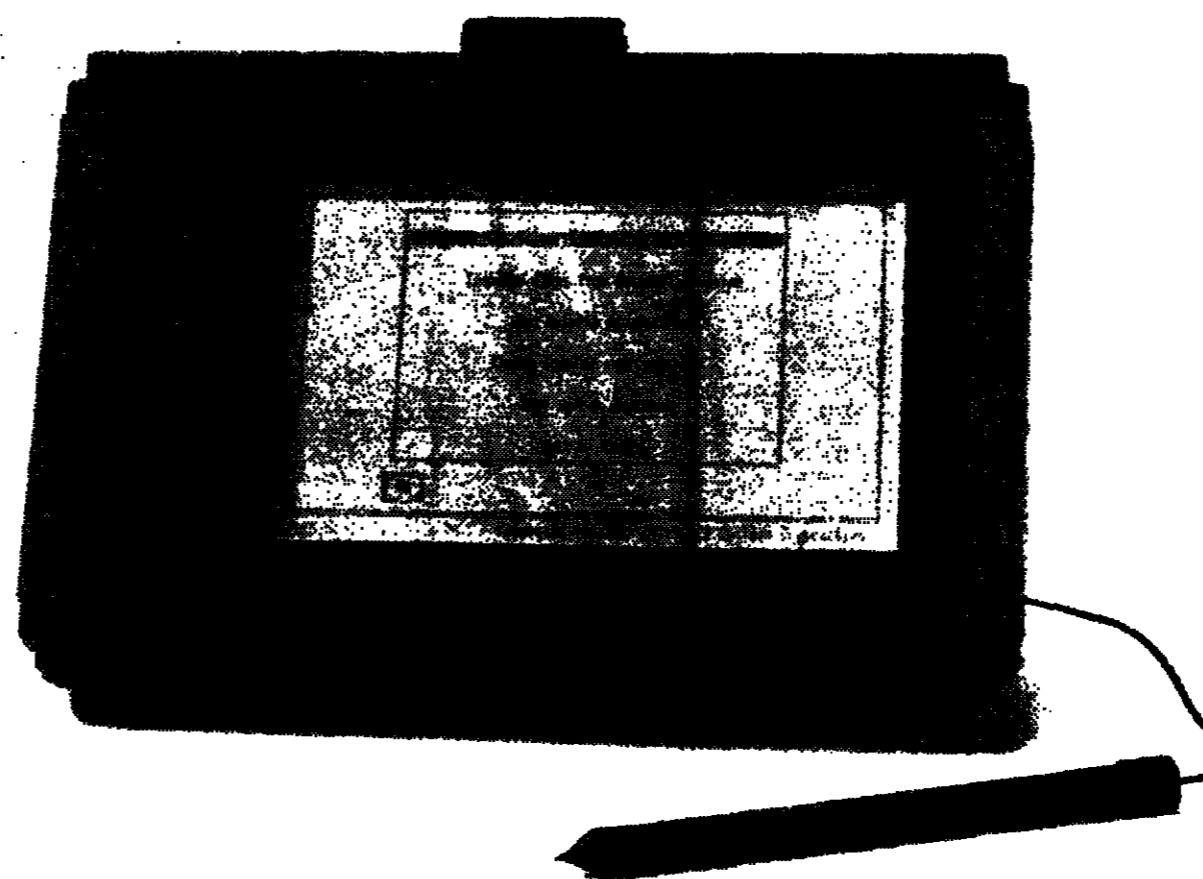
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and researched in Madras and Bengal. In 1973, the Tunis-based *Al-Bayan* newspaper reported that the Indian government had been unable to serve a writ of attachment against the Bank and file any criminal charges. Fundamentally, the Indian government's inaction and lack of prosecutions goes back to the fact that increasing numbers of Indians are reflected in the ranks of the rebels. In 1973, 100 rebels had been arrested in India, and 100 more had been killed. The rebels had been largely labelled as "communist" by the Indian press. In 1974, 500 rebels had been arrested, and 100 more had been killed by Indian troops. The course of the conflict had been reversed. In 1975, over 100 Indian rebels had been killed, and at least 10 Indian troops had been killed. Indian rebels have been accused of committing violence in the name of the Indian state. Indian rebels are basically revolutionaries who are fighting for a better world.

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NEWS: UK

European airport slot deal expected today

By Paul Betts, Aerospace Correspondent

THE UK government is expected to reach a compromise agreement today with other EC countries on regulations to allocate scarce "slots" at congested European airports.

The proposals are expected to tighten the rule that an airline can lose a slot if it does not use it. An earlier plan to confiscate slots from dominant carriers at congested airports has been dropped.

The compromise is expected to provoke angry reactions from smaller independent carriers such as Virgin Atlantic Airways, which want additional slots at London Heathrow, Europe's biggest and most congested airport, to expand their operations.

Mr Richard Branson, Virgin chairman, said the slot proposals expected to be approved by EC transport ministers were "perhaps the most anti-competitive piece of legislation ever suggested for an industry which is still rife with anti-competitive practices".

Companies face VAT chaos

By Andrew Jack

BRITISH BUSINESSES face the prospect of administrative chaos in complying with customs and VAT regulations after the single European market comes into force on January 1.

Many companies say they are worried by questions about detailed procedures, which customs officials across the EC have yet to resolve.

"The whole thing is frankly a total imposition," said Mr Ken Solomons, the accountant for Wilson & Kyle, a small supplier of fuel injection equipment based in Brentford, south-west London.

Wilson & Kyle is one of 30,000 British companies with trade of at least £25,000 a year with other EC states. As a result, it must file a new statistical form called Instrastat

UK officials argued the new proposals would give smaller airlines and new entrants in the market greater opportunities to secure slots at busy airports but acknowledged that the UK had been the only EC country to press for new slot regulations as part of the liberalisation of the European air transport market next year.

Without a compromise, there would have been little chance of securing an agreement with the other EC countries, the officials said.

Mr Branson said the tighter "use it or lose it" rules would have little effect because large flag carriers - national airlines - were likely to operate slots unprofitably, if necessary, to keep competitors out of the market.

He has complained to Mr John MacGregor, UK transport secretary, about the declaration that airlines will be entitled to hold on to the same slots they operated the previous year.

That, Mr Branson said, would legalise the controversial system whereby airlines have automatic rights to slots

they have historically held at an airport.

It would make it even harder for smaller independents such as Virgin to gain slots at busy airports to compete against the big flag carriers. In turn, it would undermine competition and keep fares high, he said.

UK officials insisted that the proposals would not give airlines ownership rights to slots but only entitle them to operate those slots for the duration of the compromise agreement to be reviewed in three years.

Mr Branson is about to test the present slot allocation system in the UK by asking the Civil Aviation Authority to transfer two British Airways slots at Heathrow, where BA controls nearly 40 per cent of slots, to Virgin to enable that airline to start a daily service to San Francisco in competition with RA.

That is likely to lead to a new row between BA and Virgin. BA was furious last year when the CAA transferred BA slots to Virgin at Tokyo's Narita airport to enable the smaller carrier to increase its flights to the Japanese capital.

Officials in London and Washington denied reports of a rift between Mr Major and Mr Clinton. Last night Mr Clinton emphasised the importance of the "special relationship" between the UK and US.

Mr Tony Blair, shadow home secretary, has written to Mr Kenneth Clarke, home secretary, asking why officials searched to see if files had been kept on Mr Clinton when he was a student at Oxford University.

Labour MPs are likely to raise the issue in parliament today.

The Home Office said it does not comment on individual cases but, privately, officials said that during the US election there were many inquiries from journalists about whether Mr Clinton had applied for citizenship to avoid the draft. In order to forestall false stories, the department had looked to see if Mr Clinton's name appeared. It did not.

Two Conservative officials - Mr John Lacy and Mr Mark Fulbrook - helped in the campaign of Mr Clinton's rival, President George Bush. They were in Mr Major's election team in April and gave a seminar to the Bush campaign on how the prime minister overthrew his opponent's opinion poll lead, largely by negative campaigning.

The main purpose of Mr Major's trip to the US, in two weeks, is for a US-EC summit. Downing Street said Mr Major hopes to meet Mr Clinton in the New Year.

Protests over hunt for Clinton files in UK

By Ralph Atkins

THE HOME OFFICE faced protests from the Labour opposition party yesterday after it emerged that officials had checked the department's files during the US election to see if president-elect Mr Bill Clinton had applied for UK citizenship.

The report brought fresh allegations of the government's mixing party and official duties. It came as 10 Downing Street was forced to deny that Mr John Major had been snubbed by being refused a meeting later this month with Mr Clinton.

Officials in London and Washington denied reports of a rift between Mr Major and Mr Clinton. Last night Mr Clinton emphasised the importance of the "special relationship" between the UK and US.

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An armed policeman in Upper Thames Street in the City of London yesterday watches as vehicles are stopped and searched

IRA threat prompts armed roadblocks by London police

By Bethan Hutton

ARMED OFFICERS from the City of London police have been conducting random road checks and the force has installed cameras on buildings around the City to monitor potential terrorist activity.

The City of London police are also calling on businesses to make sure external security cameras are functioning properly, as private security video recordings have proved to be a vital source of evidence on terrorist movements.

Elsewhere in London, Metropolitan Police staged armed roadblocks at the weekend in an attempt to detect terrorist movements and reassure the public.

Both London police forces say they are relying on increased public vigilance in the fight against the IRA's threatened Christmas bombing campaign.

The forces are working together but they have different views about the sensitive issue of armed officers and protection of the public. City firearms officers carry their weapons openly but their counterparts in the Met are under orders to keep them out of sight unless needed.

On Friday and Saturday night up to 45 armed police, dog handlers and traffic officers stopped and searched more than 80 vehicles, mostly vans, at roadblocks in local

tions around the east end of London, where police believe an IRA cell is based.

No weapons, explosives or terrorist suspects were found in the operation but similar operations are likely in future. The legal powers to conduct random checks have existed for some time, but have not been used in London before.

The new tactic was deployed in response to the IRA's recent bombing campaign using vans packed with large amounts of explosive parked outside buildings or near road junctions.

The Lord Mayor of London, Mr Francis McWilliams, has written to the prime minister saying that the "serious problems" between insurers and the government over cover for commercial property damaged by terrorists must be resolved urgently before it affects foreign investment and London's commercial property.

The Association of British Insurers, which has recommended its members to exclude terrorist damage from new commercial policies, said on Friday that some insurers were considering cancelling existing policies on 30 days notice, rather than waiting for them to expire.

Insurance industry bodies are asking the government to extend to the mainland the compensation scheme used in Northern Ireland, or to underwrite some of the cost of providing cover against terrorism.

Industry attacks EC data directive

By Alan Cane

A BRUSSELS-inspired measure to ease the flow of information across national boundaries by harmonising national data protection laws will cost UK business millions of pounds, the Confederation of British Industry warned today.

The employers' organisation said the measure, a directive working through the European Commission's labyrinthine machinery, demanded unnecessarily high levels of protection.

Ms Judith Vincent, head of the CBI law department, said the proposed regulations too

data. It would particularly affect telecommunications, banking, insurance and travel companies. It could, for example, make it unlawful for a bank to send customers details of a new service without first obtaining the customers' permission.

The proposed directive has been a source of controversy since its introduction in September 1990.

It was prompted by concerns about the ease with which information held on computers

can be manipulated and transmitted. But charities, direct marketing companies, airlines and banks were among the industries which successfully lobbied members of the European parliament into submitting more than 150 amendments when the directive had its first reading in the European parliament last February.

The Commission hopes member countries will approve the directive next year to that it can be implemented from July 1, 1994.

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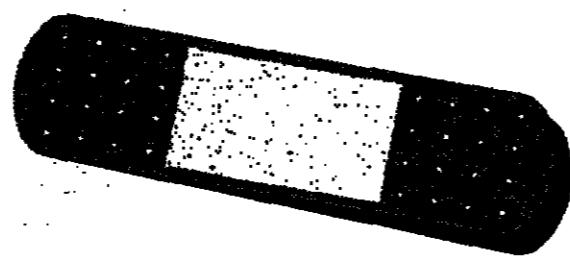
In North, South and Central America the IS-1000, IS-2000 and IS-3000 are sold as the IS-1, IS-2 and IS-3, respectively.

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Threat prompts roadblocks London police

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ECONOMICS

Recovery hopes rest on figures

A SENSE that brighter news on the economy is lurking in the UK wings lifted spirits in the UK towards the end of last week, so today's consumer credit numbers will be looked at closely for further evidence of a recovery in retail sales.

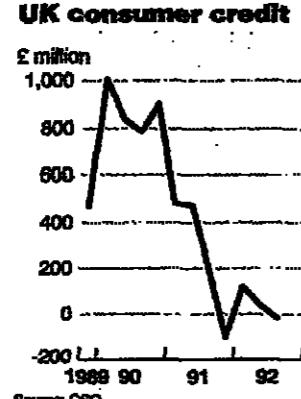
While the credit business series from the Central Statistical Office measures only about 15 per cent of total private sector debt, the numbers provide a useful snapshot of consumer behaviour.

The forecast is for a small change in the consumer borrowing in October - after September's net repayment of £90m.

The release of the final cost of living figure for November in west Germany is also expected this week. The preliminary number, a year-on-year rise of 7 per cent, surprised economists. A modest downward revision may be announced, but is unlikely to be enough to ease Bundesbank worries over inflation.

Last week, Helmut Schlesinger, president of the Bundesbank, complained inflation was too high and M3 growth continues to overshoot its 1992 target.

This is also an important week for European politics. The Edinburgh summit starts on Friday. John Major, the prime



Source: CBO

minister, will want a successful summit at the end of the UK's troublesome 6 months at the presidency of the EC.

Following are some of the other economic highlights of the week. The figures are taken from the median of economists' forecasts from MMS International, a financial information company. Unless stated otherwise, the figures are the month-on-month comparison.

Today: UK, October credit business (up £20m); Canada, November housing starts (up 10,000 units); Switzerland, deputy governor of the Bundesbank, Tietmeyer speaks on European

monetary integration; Brussels, EC agriculture ministers meeting.

Tomorrow: US, October consumer credit (up 90.4bn); October motor vehicle sales (down 6.5 per cent), October labour income (unchanged); Switzerland, G10 Central Bank governors meeting at Bank of International Settlements; Brussels, EC foreign ministers meeting for pre-Edinburgh summit discussions; Austria, Italy, Portugal and Spain, meetings closed.

Wednesday: US, October wholesale trade; Australia, October retail trade (up 0.4 per cent); Switzerland, November CPI (up 3.2 per cent on year); UK, EC, commission president Jacques Delors meets UK prime minister John Major, Portugal, parliament debate and votes to ratify Maastricht treaty.

Thursday: US, November producer price index (up 0.1 per cent), excluding food and energy (up 0.2 per cent), October home completions, money supply data for the week ended November 30, November supply data for month of November; Canada, October department store sales; Australia, November employment (up 5,000), November unemployment (11.2 per cent); Norway, CPI (up 2.1 per cent on year); Sweden, November CPI (up 0.2 per cent on

month, up 2.1 per cent on year); France, Bank of France conference, 1992 and 1993 monetary policy; UK, Treasury monthly report on monetary policy; Switzerland, EFTA ministerial meeting in Geneva for 2 days; Germany, Central Bank meeting with year-end M3 target review.

Friday: UK, EC Edinburgh summit opens; NPI (up 0.1 per cent on month, up 3.2 per cent on year, up 3.8 per cent on year excluding mortgage interest rates); Holland, November CPI (flat on month, up 3 per cent on year); Switzerland, Swiss monetary programme; Bank of US, November CPI (up 0.2 per cent), excluding food and energy (up 0.2 per cent), November retail sales (up 0.2 per cent), excluding cars (up 0.4 per cent); December Michigan sentiment, November real earnings; Japan, Bank of Japan quarterly Tankan report released; Australia, October pay rates.

During the week: Germany, November cost of living - final, October retail sales (up 1 per cent on year); Sweden, November Crown Price Mittal Fund, Polar Finance, November.

BOARD MEETINGS:

Final: Polar Finance, Polar Ind.

Friday: Polar Ind.

Third: Polar Ind.

Interim: Polar Ind.

Annual: Polar Ind.

Mid-year: Polar Ind.

ISRAEL

Monday December 7 1992

Economic trends in Israel and the Palestinian areas; Russians' impact — Page 2

Tourism revives; industry, privatisation and banking; a chocolate story — Page 4

After decades of war, Israel feels that events are moving its way on the diplomatic and economic fronts. Hugh Carnegy describes the mood in the Jewish State as it tackles mass immigration and holds peace talks with its Arab neighbours

Stirrings of optimism

IN ISRAEL, which has been in a constant state of conflict throughout its four decades as a state, the years have taught the wisdom of placing prudence before optimism.

But as 1992 draws to a close, there are many Israelis who dare to imagine that this has been a watershed year, when the country at last embarked on a path of peace with its Arab neighbours and moved towards well-founded prosperity.

This powerful and enticing vision is by no means assured, nor universally shared: the Washington-based Middle East negotiations not only carry no guarantee of success, they are opposed by Israel's vocal right-wing as containing the seeds of a dangerous sell-out.

A surge in export-oriented growth this year is just a fragile beginning in the daunting task of economic reform required if the country is to absorb successfully hundreds of thousands of immigrants from the former Soviet Union who have arrived since 1989.

But it is the belief that the Jewish state stands on the threshold of opportunities unprecedented since its violent inception in 1948 that drives the government of Mr Yitzhak Rabin, the prime minister who led his Labour party to a landmark election victory in June.

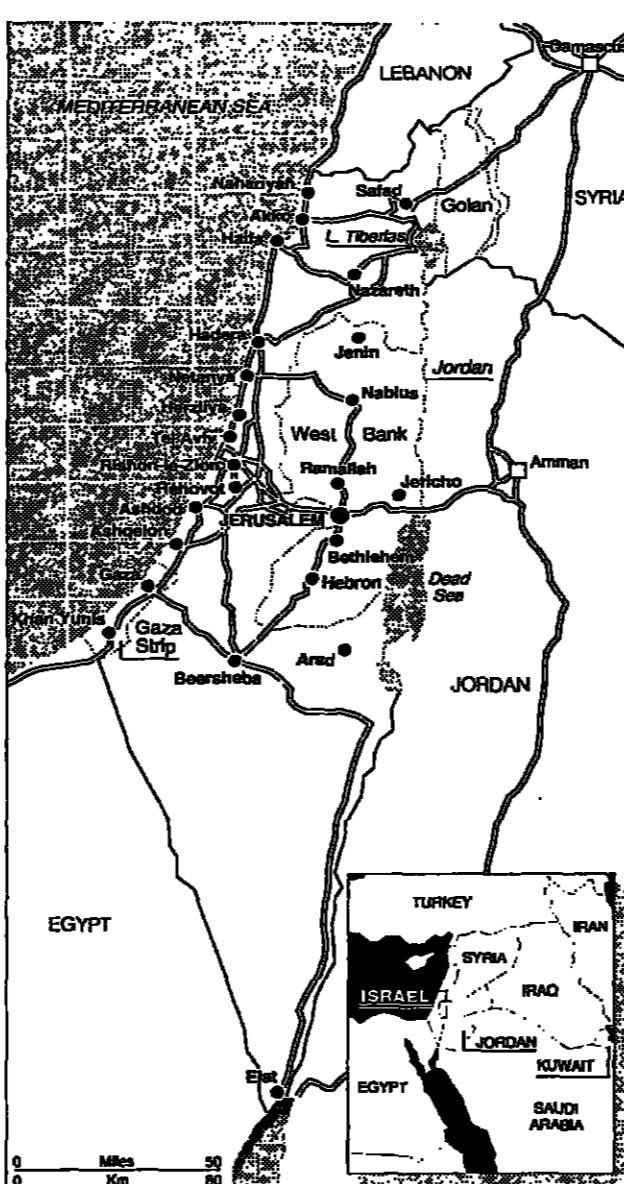
The election produced a political sea-change. Mr Rabin,

the army chief of staff during the 1967 Six Day War, succeeded where Labour had hitherto failed since its chief opponent, the hardline Likud party, first came to power in 1977. He persuaded Israelis to vote for a party committed to withdraw from Arab territories captured in 1967 in exchange for peace.

The Likud, under former Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, and its far-right allies argue that there was no great popular swing away from the commitment never to yield the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. Indeed, Labour was carried to victory largely by the votes of Israeli Arab citizens and big support from the new immigrants who above all blamed the outgoing government for their harsh economic predilection.

Nevertheless, it also appeared that many Israelis no longer believed in the Likud's uncompromising stance in an era when the pro-Arab influence of the Soviet Union had disappeared and many Arab countries had, in effect, taken the same side as Israel in the 1991 Gulf conflict with Iraq.

Likud's representation was slashed from 40 to 32 members of the Knesset. Labour won 44 seats and was able to build a coalition with the left-liberal Meretz alliance and the ultra-orthodox Shas religious party that excluded Likud from the dispute," he said last month.



Lifeblood of an expanding economy: the first flight of Israel for some of the 450,000 Jewish refugees who have arrived from the Soviet bloc

warned that the opportunity for peace must be seized within the next two or three years or may lapse, to be replaced by the risk of non-conventional war in the region. But he is not yet pessimistic. "I believe that we are on a path of no return. The reality of the international situation, the regional situation, the genuine need of nations and countries, is to arrive at a resolution of the dispute," he said last month.

The perception that peace is possible has had an important bearing on the other priority of the government — the economy. The advent of 450,000 immigrants since 1989 — a 10 per cent leap in the population — and their continued arrival at a pace of some 70,000 a year has put a huge onus on the economy to produce rapid and sustained growth.

This year, the growing anticipation of political stability has

stirred the interest of both domestic and foreign investors. The Tel Aviv Stock Exchange has boomed. Tourism is at record levels. The business sector has grown by around seven per cent — with exports rising by 14 per cent. Real GDP growth will be around six per cent, giving per capita growth of up to three per cent. Inflation is nearing single figures for the first time since Israel was plagued by three-digit

inflation in the early 1980s.

But unemployment, at around 11 per cent of the workforce, is also at record levels. It has resulted in a slowdown in immigration rates which has undoubtedly given the economy some valuable breathing space to adjust to the inflow. But if Israel is to fulfil its most fundamental Zionist commitment — to attract as many immigrants as possible — it must produce rapid growth

over a prolonged period. This has been achieved before, in the 1960s, when Israel's per capita income was similar to Japan's. Since then, however, the Israeli economy has largely stagnated. Despite huge injections of US aid currently running at \$300 a year, Israeli GDP per capita of around \$10,000 a year has been overtaken by countries such as Hong Kong and Singapore.

Mr Rabin's government has committed itself to dismantle much of Israel's traditional state control over the economy to re-inject growth. It says it will conduct a wide programme of privatisation and liberalisation, will invest heavily in infrastructure while keeping a tight rein on public spending. It is looking to extend Israel's 1975 free trade agreement with the EC to cement links with what has become the country's main trading partner.

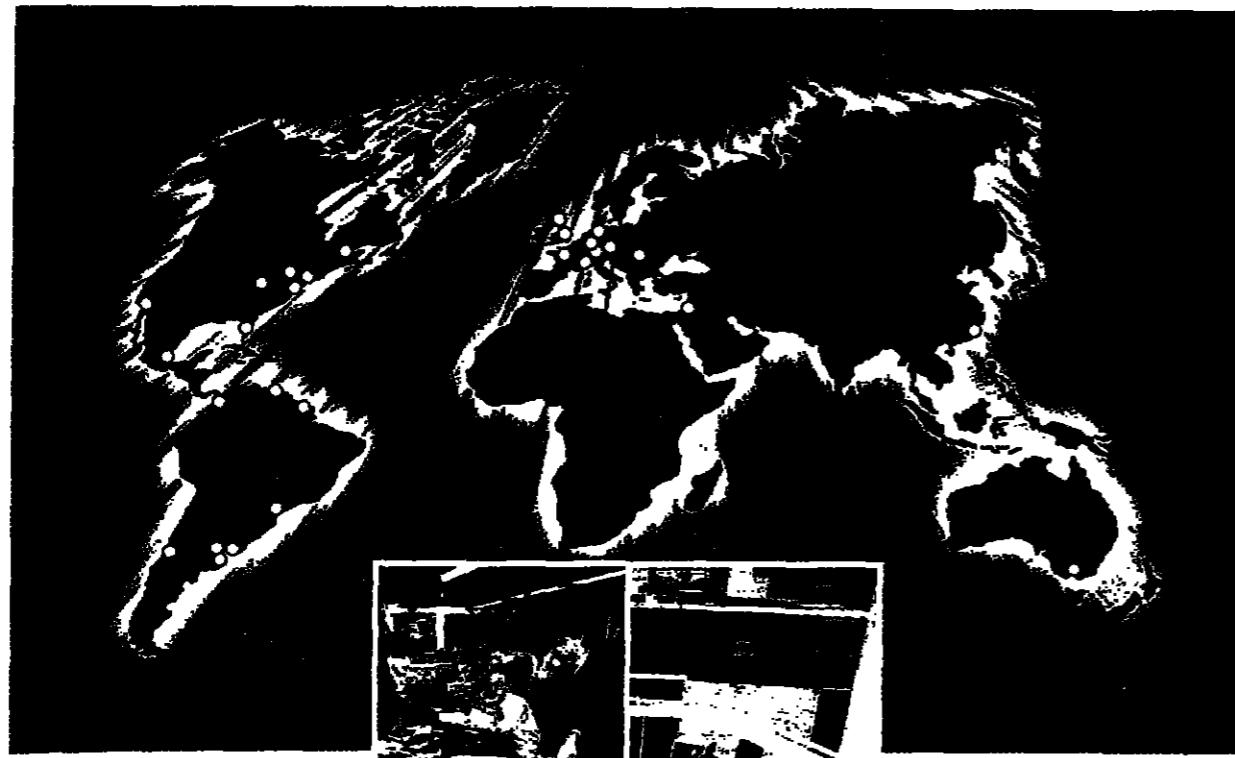
There remains considerable scepticism over whether the government will live up to its own rhetoric on reform, particularly given Labour's historical role in building the state edifice and its continued close links with the powerful Histadrut trade union federation. While the privatisation programme has yet to see the government shed control of a major company, last month two new government companies were founded to build a highway and to administer the bank debts of the moshavim collective farms.

Nevertheless Mr Jacob Freinkel, the governor of the Bank of Israel, says he believes the peace process is moving in the right direction. He says the peace process could give its efforts an immeasurable boost by encouraging investment and opening up new trade opportunities. "If indeed peace breaks out we can envisage a dam cracking and things happening in a big way."

In both political and economic terms, therefore, a great deal is riding on a successful outcome to the peace negotiations. That in itself gives Mr Rabin more incentive to push them forward. If he succeeds, 1992 will indeed be a turning point in Israel's history.

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BRK HAPPOALIM

ISRAEL 2

GIVEN the recessionary gloom in Western Europe and the US, there is understandable satisfaction in Israel that the country will show real growth this year of some six per cent, the third year running the economy has expanded by more than five per cent, writes HUGH CARNEGY.

The engine of this growth has been mass immigration from the former Soviet Union which has since late 1989 totalled some 450,000 - increasing the population by no less than 10 per cent.

This huge inflow has at once posed great problems and offered great opportunities for the economy. The newcomers have pushed up unemployment to record levels at more than 11 per cent of the workforce. But the highly-educated immigrants are seen as a precious resource for generating a period of sustained, export-oriented growth the like of which Israel has failed to achieve since the early 1970s.

This year, a sense of optimism that this can be achieved has been augmented by the prospect of regional stability held out by the Middle East peace negotiations, and the advent of the Labour-led government which promises growth-oriented policies.

There remain nonetheless big question marks. Successive Israeli governments have for the best part of a decade promised to reform the heavily state-dominated and aid-dependent economy but have largely failed to deliver.

For the moment, however, some important indicators are pointing in the right direction. Unlike 1991, when per capita growth was zero, real GDP growth per capita will grow by up to three per cent. Inflation has tumbled from 18 per cent last year and may be in single figures for the whole of 1992 for the first time in years. It is expected to stabilise at around nine per cent in 1993. Exports, which fell in 1991, have grown by an encouraging 14 per cent.

A government-fuelled construction boom accounted for as much as 50 per cent of growth both in 1991 and in 1992. This has now peaked, refined in part by the new government, and will result in lower growth rates in 1993, with business sector growth forecast in the 1993 budget at four per cent after seven per cent this year.

But, assuming immigration remains steady at around 100,000 a year, the government

Economy is reinforced by mass immigration

Three fat years

expects this to surge significantly again in the subsequent two years. It forecasts that exports will rise by more than eight per cent for each of the next three years.

During that time, the state will spend \$8bn on infrastructure programmes. Unemployment is seen falling to nine per cent by 1993. This year, the growth in jobs in the economy slowed despite the growth in output. This worries many in the government. "Some ministers want me to pay to create more jobs artificially," says Mr Avraham Shochat, the finance minister. "But we would have to carry the burden of this on our backs for years. It would prevent real growth in the economy."

Instead, the intention is to bring down the budget deficit from 3.2 per cent of GDP next year to close to zero in 1993. The expanded foreign borrowing programme built into the government's planning is underpinned by \$10bn in US guarantees.

If NEGOTIATORS at the Middle East peace talks in Washington are to succeed, they will have to include the resolution of an economic conflict which is not much less fraught than the political one.

Along with the other levers of power, Israel's military administration in the West Bank and Gaza Strip has, since the occupation began in June 1967, exercised what Mr Hisham Awartani, a prominent Palestinian economist, has described as "the complete usurpation of control on all facets of economic life in both territories".

It is true that the early years of the occupation saw a dramatic rise in per capita income and living standards in both the West Bank and Gaza. These two former backwaters of the Jordanian and Egyptian economies had suddenly been exposed to a developed Israel.

Mainly due to the availability of work in Israel which West Bankers and Gazans had previously had no access to, the two areas grew in prosperity. However, tight Israeli restrictions on indigenous economic development within the territories, for reasons ranging

from security policy to suppression of potential competition for Israeli producers, have left them economically fragile.

In recent years, this has been exacerbated by the Palestinian uprising, or intifada, against Israeli rule which erupted in late 1987, and subsequently the 1990-91 crisis over Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The protest strikes and disruptions of the intifada have damaged many Palestinian businesses; the Gulf crisis hit exports and cut remittances.

The West Bank and Gaza have a combined population of some 2m people, compared with Israel's 5m. But the territories' combined GNP is estimated at around only \$2bn compared with more than \$50bn for Israel. Some 40 per cent of Palestinian GNP is accounted for by employment in Israel, mainly in the construction sector.

Services, including tourism,

tees." There are, however, still plenty of factors at play which fuel the fears of the sceptics.

The country still relies heavily on unilateral transfers of funds. These totalled more than \$5bn in 1991 - the majority made up of US military and economic grant aid - or a whopping 10 per cent of GDP. Without them a current account balance of payments deficit of \$850m would have been of unmanageable proportions.

With the deficit set to grow as investment rises, Israel will be extremely vulnerable to any cuts in US foreign aid programmes under the Clinton administration.

On the other hand, despite the recent increase in foreign investor interest, the uncomfortable fact is that total net foreign investment has been negative in three of the last four years - to the tune of \$460m in 1991.

More than two thirds of economic activity in Israel is still

Arabs seek economic powers

Area of conflict

construction and agriculture, make up the bulk of domestic production in the West Bank and Gaza. According to figures compiled in a recent report by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, industry comprises only 7.7 per cent of GDP in the West Bank and 13.7 per cent in Gaza. The mainstays are clothing, shoes, pharmaceuticals, furniture and other light industries. Many businesses subcontract on behalf of Israeli companies; only 30 companies are thought to employ more than 50 people.

Palestinians complain that the military administration has consistently blocked the issue of manufacturing licences; barred the export of agricultural products to Israel; limited exports to third countries; expropriated and limited land use. Two other sources of complaint are the military's punitive tax collection and restrictive water allocations.

Services, including tourism,

accounted for by the public sector, government-owned companies or government-controlled institutions, a far higher proportion than, for example, in Israel's main European trading partners. The export-oriented private sector is relatively small.

"That part of the economy works - but it is the only part of the economy that works," says Mr Alvin Rabushka, an economist from California's Stanford University who is a harsh critic of Israel's economic structure.

The government has enacted significant reforms in the capital markets and begun a privatisation programme. But many doubt the Labour government's ability to achieve such reforms.

The defence industries offer only one example of several areas which require expensive and difficult reform - but which are bastions of the Histadrut trade union federation, to which Labour is affiliated.

Mr Jacob Frankel, the Governor of the Bank of Israel, is one of those who believes the Israeli economy is "well positioned to take off". But, as he also stresses, there is a very long way to go.

The American Academy report says 83 per cent of West Bank ground water is used by Israel or Israeli settlers.

In the peace negotiations, the Palestinians are seeking to win control over these tools of economic management. While water and land are especially sensitive, Israel has signalled its willingness to help in the economic development of the territories. It sees benefits for both sides in the growth of the Palestinian economy and wants to reduce its dependence on cheap Arab labour.

Aid from the EC and the US to the West Bank and Gaza amounts to more than \$25m a year and much more is anticipated if there is a political settlement. However, there are no significant banking or credit institutions in the West Bank and Gaza to provide a flow of investment capital. Access to Israeli and Jordanian markets and ports would also be vital.

Hugh Carnegy

TWO and a half years after the beginning of mass immigration from the former Soviet Union, many of the 450,000 newcomers often still feel lost and helpless in their struggle for full and successful absorption into Israeli life, writes ERIC SILVER.

As a group, however, the immigrants have quickly made a big impact on society and politics. Most striking was their significant contribution to the change of government in the June 1992 elections.

The big immigrant vote for the Labour party is commonly explained by economic hardship and high unemployment which the newcomers associated with the Likud government and which is the biggest obstacle to smooth integration into society of a group that is now Israel's largest ethnic community.

In June 1992 immigrants were a quarter of 156,000 unemployed Israelis. Absorption Ministry data show that among 150,000 immigrant breadwinners, only 70,000 are employed, two thirds of them not in their professions and often in minimum-wage jobs. Another 30,000 are still enrolled in Hebrew schools or undergoing vocational training.

Faers two years ago of an ethno-social "explosion" between newcomers and

THE LIKUD party is set to leave an entire court of "crown princes" as it prepares to elect a new leader and start down the road to recovery from its defeat in the June elections, writes ERIC SILVER.

Neither of the frontrunners to succeed Mr Yitzhak Shamir as Likud leader - Mr Binyamin Netanyahu and Mr Binyamin Begin - has cabinet experience. Both entered parliament as recently as 1980.

"Bibi" Netanyahu is 43; "Benny" Begin, son of the late Mr Menachem Begin, is 49. The high-flyers previously tipped to succeed the old warhorse of the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Gang - smooth lawyers in their 50s like Mr Dan Meridor, the former justice minister, and Mr Ehud Olmer, previously health minister - have pulled out of the race. Mr Ariel Sharon, at 64 the oldest of the original contenders, has made a tactical retreat.

Mr David Levy, the 55-year-old former foreign minister and standard bearer of Israel's north African immigrant community, is still running hard, but his chances have diminished. He is blamed for weakening the party on the eve of the general election by reviving ethnic resentments. Two younger Sephardi candidates, Mr Moshe Katsav and Mr Meir Sheetrit, are putting down a marker for the future.

MR UZIA GALLI, who in the 30 years since he founded Eilon has built it into one of Israel's top high-technology producers, is not much troubled by the cold economic winds blowing in Europe and the US where his companies sell most of their products, writes HUGH CARNEGY.

In his view from Haifa, overlooking a Mediterranean Sea still warm in the December sun, the worldwide electronics market is so big that relatively small players like those in Israel can go on making money in a recession if they have the products and skills to compete.

In recent years, the Eilon companies have garnered fewer headlines than other stars of the Israeli high-tech firmament like Seiter, the computerised imaging systems maker, or ECI Telecom, a manufacturer of advanced circuit multipliers. But the group, with combined sales of \$60m, accounts for about 17 per cent of the country's electronics industry and is a mainstay of the export-driven sector. It includes, in Eilon, Eiscint, Fibronics

Diplomats see opportunities - and new perils

In unknown territory

THE new world order of the 1990s tempts Israeli diplomacy with unprecedented opportunities. The accompanying disorders haunts it with unprecedented dangers.

The good news for Israel is that its Arab neighbours can no longer rely on the Soviet Union to back them in international forums, to supply them with advanced weapons or to bail them out if they overbid within Israel and in the occupied territories. The Shi'ite Hezbollah, inspired actively by Iran and passively by Syria, is harassing Israel and its proxy militia in southern Lebanon and, occasionally, in Israel itself.

On the Israeli side, the Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have seized on the government's readiness for

tions, and not giving those who wish to sabotage the peace process by means of terror the pleasure of stopping the negotiations.

On a broader canvas, Mr Yossi Beilin, the deputy foreign minister, defined the object of Israeli diplomacy as "to use the new situation in order to become a more welcome member of the international club".

The peace process has already yielded dividends. Israel now has diplomatic relations with 120 countries, the highest number in its 44 year history. Before the 1967 war, the figure was 96. After the 1973 Yom Kippur war, it fell to a low of 82.

Mr Beilin mapped Israel's course closer integration with the European Community, a constructive role in the rebuilding of the former Soviet republics; cooperation with the new US administration; a concerted international effort to restrict the transfer of nuclear capability, which he described as a "cloud hanging over us all the time".

Although the team surrounding President-elect Bill Clinton are not exactly strangers in Jerusalem, Israel is bracing for a change of emphasis on the part of its staunchest ally and most generous benefactor. Mr Benjamin Netanyahu, the former deputy foreign minister and current frontrunner to succeed Mr Shamir as leader of the opposition Likud party, has warned his countrymen to prepare for a sharp drop in US aid, now running at \$3bn a year, as the focus in the US shifts to the domestic agenda.

Washington is expected nonetheless to continue working for Middle East peace, if only because the stability of a region which supplies such a large proportion of its energy needs is essential for Western economic recovery. As Mr Beilin put it: "They understand the linkage between home and foreign policy."

Eric Silver

RUSSIAN JEWS

The pains of adjustment

Israelis over competition for jobs have not been fulfilled. The two groups found themselves "sailing in the same boat of hardship and unemployment," says Moshe Lisak, sociology professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. But lack of work is a key grievance of immigrants.

Marina and Yuri, both in their mid-30s, immigrated to Israel from Georgia two years ago. They live in one of Haifa's suburbs and are unemployed now. For several months they worked not in their professions: Marina, a lawyer, worked as a supermarket cashier and Yuri, a car electrician, worked as a plumber. But pay was too low to keep them in unsatisfactory jobs.

Marina, who is currently enrolled in a lawyer's training course, says she has no hope of finding work in her profession even after she graduates. "There are no

jobs out there. I am taking this course for the lack of anything better to do," she says. She believes, however, that "things are tougher in Russia and in Georgia," and is content to be out. But the Absorption Ministry says 4,450 Soviet immigrants have left Israel since the beginning of 1991.

Marina speaks good Hebrew but she has no Israeli friends and she does not feel "Israeli". Professor Lisak says that despite "adoption" attempts on the part of Israelis, Soviet immigrants failed to become part of Israeli social networks and remain closed inside their own circles.

Interestingly, integration is often more evident in the peripheral development town communities than it is in the main cities. The immigrants find it easier to mingle in small centres despite the fact that in these places they are often breaking the ethnic homogeneity of Sephardi Jews who themselves were mass immigrants' two generations ago.

The problems of absorption, particularly unemployment, led this year to a sharp drop in arrivals from former Soviet territories to 70,000 from 175,000 in 1991. This slower pace of immigration may have the effect of easing the pressure on Israeli society of integrating newcomers.

debts of \$50m. Only Mr Netanyahu, who introduced the 10-second sound-bite to Israeli diplomacy, first as ambassador to the United Nations, then as deputy foreign minister, seemed ready for another battle.

His rivals accuse him of importing American techniques - and American money in the form of donations from US Jewish supporters - into the contest. But they have failed to brand him an outsider.

He presses the flesh. His oratory owes more to Hebrew football commentators than to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (his alma mater). He is rapidly making good his lack of a power base within the party by recruiting new members to Likud - about 25,000 since June.

Mr Netanyahu's critics complain that they don't know what he stands for. What he has vouchsafed so far is that he favours electoral reform and a market economy of Thatcherite rigour. He wants to hold on to all the occupied territories. He does not trust the Arabs.

That may suffice to win the Likud leadership in the March primaries. But unless Mr Robin disappoints those who voted for a change of national priorities, it may not be enough to make Mr Netanyahu prime minister in 1996.

□ POLITICS

Likud seeks a young leader

Mr Netanyahu confirmed his position as early favourite on November 15 by persuading the 3,000-member Likud central committee to adopt a system of primaries for choosing a leader who would command them through the present parliament to the next election, due in 1996.

The committee overwhelmingly rejected

Mr Begin's alternative proposal which would have left a decision about the candidate for prime minister to a later stage.

The younger Begin, an earnest geologist with an American PhD, appeared extremely in Likud's television commercials last spring, but he lacked his father's showmanship and passion. The party managers gambled on the name, and the name was not enough.

The elections left Likud politicians weary and defeated, a party with a lame-duck leader, a rambunctious machine and

formed strongly to allow Eilon to support the weaker companies to get back on track. Eilon has taken over Eiscint to diversify out of the weakening defence sector. But Mr Galli says companies like Eilon can still make money in the defence market by concentrating on enhancing efficiency for clients looking to cut costs.

Niche markets are what Israeli electronics companies have traditionally exploited, successfully to make the sector account for about 30 per cent of the country's industrial exports, employing more than 30,000 people. Now the flow of immigrants from the former Soviet Union and heavy layoffs in the heavy end of the local military industries have increased the pressure on the electronics industry to expand.

Mr Galli says this requires a dramatic shift in attitude, looking to produce components for mass consumer products. The next step is to start from the market, not from the technology we have. We have to assume we have the technology and look for the market that we could supply.

Profile: Eilon

An electronics

success story

and Optrotech form of the growing number of Israeli high-tech companies quoted on US stock markets which, Mr Galli points out, have recently spectacularly outperformed the main market indices.

Not that all has been plain sailing in the group. Both Fibronics, a pioneer in fibre-optic networking, and Optrotech, which services printed circuit board production, have fallen into the red in the last 12 months. They dragged down net group profits to \$6m in the first half of 1992, from \$13.5m in first half 1991.

But Eilon, which makes defence electronics, and Eiscint, which makes advanced medical diagnostic equipment, have recov-

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ISRAEL 4

ISRAEL'S tourism industry is set to break records in 1992. Mr Uzi Bar'am, the tourism minister, reckons the number of visitors to Israel and the occupied territories will reach 1.65m by the end of the year, outstripping the previous best performance of 1.52m in 1987.

The slump caused in 1990 and 1991 by the Gulf crisis and the subsequent war has been quickly left behind. The political effect of the Palestinian intifada, or uprising, in the occupied territories which was felt in 1988 and 1989 has also largely evaporated.

Instead, officials, hoteliers and tour operators alike say the establishment of Middle East peace talks, giving some hope of a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, has been an important factor in encouraging tourists and investors to come to the Holy Land.

"Every tourist and investor is taking a risk when coming to Israel," says Mr Bar'am. "If the perception of the political situation is positive, if we are pushing the peace process ahead, in cooperation with the US and Europe, then people are more enthusiastic to come. And we have all the attributes to

Tourists rediscover the Holy Land

Sun worship

attract more people." Indeed, the story of Israeli tourism is one of great potential thwarted by political instability. Even this year's record looks meagre when set against the extraordinary combination of holy shrines, archaeological sites, scenery, climate and warmth that Israel and the occupied lands can offer. Israel lags far behind Greece, for example, in the number of tourists it attracts each year.

Mr Bar'am and his officials are aiming to raise the annual total number of visitors to 2.5m over the next five years. They believe ultimately, the "optimal" figure could handle without excessive overcrowding is 3m-3.5m. "Our priority is still quantity, not quality," says a senior official at the ministry.

The importance to the overall economy is hard to overestimate. Already

the sector employs directly 50,000 people. The \$2bn that tourism earns Israel annually is equivalent to about one sixth of industrial exports. This year, it will amount to about twice the current account deficit on the balance of payments. As the deficit rises while Israel steps up investment to cope with mass immigration, the importance of tourism earnings will be greater than ever.

The government is therefore channeling considerable investment into tourism, targeted mainly at three chief locations: Jerusalem, the Dead Sea and Eilat on the Red Sea.

Over the next three years, it will spend some Shk500m on grants to foreign companies, with up to 30 per cent available of the cost of an investment. An additional similar sum will be spent

directly on infrastructural and other facilities.

The core of tourism to Israel and the occupied territories has been Jews and Christians from the US and western Europe. Israel is looking to the Christian markets in the southern states of the US and the Far East for expansion. The experienced and remarkably resilient Palestinian operators, strong in the Christian pilgrimage business, are fighting to expand their market share. Both look longingly at the prospect of Moslem pilgrims who have largely been absent since Israel won all of Jerusalem in the 1967 Six Day War.

This year has shown how even the prospect of peace can produce a surge in numbers. The benefits of open borders that a peace settlement would yield would be great. By the same token, however, an enormous amount is riding on the success of the peace process. Any breakdown of the talks and resort to violence in the area would send the numbers tumbling downwards once more.

Hugh Carnegy

Hugh Carnegy on the government and the banks

Trying to withdraw

THE big issue for 1993 facing four of the five banks which dominate Israel's financial sector is not so much how they will perform, but what will become of their ownership.

If the government sticks to its target, it will in the coming year move decisively at last to resolve the question of how to divest the state of the majority shareholdings it has in the four biggest banks — Bank Hapoalim, Bank Leumi, Israel Discount Bank and Bank Mizrahi. (The fifth largest, First International Bank of Israel, is privately owned.)

The state took on the bank stock at the cost of some \$7bn after a share collapse in 1983. A preferential share system left control in the hands of the original owners. But under agreements with all four banks, the government-held shares will have full voting rights when they are sold back to the private sector.

In theory there is a deadline of October 1993. Under the terms of the government rescue, the banks would come under full state control from that time if they have not previously been re-privatised. The Labour-led coalition is anxious to earn the receipts this would bring the government and is committed not to preclude over a full-scale nationalisation.

Overall, the banks look relatively well positioned for sale. Mr Ze'ev Abeles, the Banks' Examiner at the Bank of Israel, says that despite a problem of non-performing debt in the agricultural sector, which has now only requires Bank of Israel asset. The balance will then be floated on the TASE.

A long-delayed similar tender process will be launched in three to four months for Bank Igud, a profitable unit that is being split off from Bank Leumi. Meanwhile, Israel Discount Bank has been split from its parent, IDB Holdings.

A controlling share of IDB Holdings, a big investment group, has been sold back to its original owners, the Recanati family of Tel Aviv. The remaining 42 per cent government stake in the holding company, valued at Shk500m, was due to be floated on the TASE late last month. Mr Leidner then intends to issue tenders for a 26 per cent stake in the bank — worth perhaps \$250m — in the first half of 1993 that would establish a new owner.

"Our attitude is to sell a controlling interest first. We think it is important to secure long term, stable ownership of the banks before selling shares to the public," Mr Leidner says.

This approach is disputed, not least by the Bank of Israel.

"We need to think over whether the process of sale of control by auction is the right way to sell [Bank Hapoalim, Bank Leumi and Discount Bank]," says Mr Abeles.

Mr Leidner himself admits that the sheer size of Bank Hapoalim, controlled by the Histadrut trade union federation, and Bank Leumi, controlled by the Jewish Colonial Trust, makes selling them "a completely different ballgame".

Their combined assets of some Shk150bn are more than twice the combined assets of the other three banks. He intends a test flotation on the TASE of a 10 per cent stake in each (both had shareholder's equity last year of more than Shk100m).

There is still considerable debate on how to proceed from there, however. Mr Abeles, who doubts it will be possible to find investors willing even to buy a 10 per cent stake in Hapoalim or Leumi, says a steering committee should be set up with Bank of Israel participation to decide.

It looks highly unlikely the issue will be resolved by October next year, leaving the government with an additional problem of how to avoid taking direct control of the country's two dominant banking groups.

Privatisation proceeds slowly, says Judy Maltz

Easier in principle

ISRAEL'S privatisation programme appears to be gaining some momentum after a quick slow start.

In February, the government sold off 20 per cent of its shares in Israel Chemicals, the largest state-owned industrial concern, for \$235m, in the biggest share offering ever made on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange (TASE). Early next year, it plans to issue an international tender to sell off a controlling stake in the national telecommunications company, Bezeq, which has already been partly privatised on the TASE.

It is difficult to find anyone in Israel these days who disputes the benefits of privatisation. What remains an issue of heated controversy, however, is the method of going about it. Specifically, should the government sell its companies on the local stock exchange — a process which generally takes longer but also allows the public to benefit — or should it sell control immediately to private investors and thereby turn in a quick profit?

Since taking power last July, Israel's new Labour-led government has taken great pains to show that it wholeheartedly supports privatisation. In spite of its Socialist roots, it has no intention of abandoning free-market reforms begun by the previous Likud government.

To prove its point, the first decision taken by the newly formed cabinet last summer was to re-establish a special interministerial committee, charged with overseeing the privatisation programme. On the committee, headed by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, sit the finance minister and the justice minister.

The decision was taken a day before the former US Secretary of State, James Baker, arrived in Jerusalem for his first meeting with the prime minister and was interpreted as a clear message to the Americans that the new government views privatisation as one of its top economic priorities.

The government of Israel is currently a shareholder in 170 companies, which last year employed 24 per cent of the country's total labour force and accounted for just under 24 per cent of its total exports. The privatisation programme is directed at about 25 of these companies, active mainly in utilities, chemicals, transport and construction. On the whole, these companies have tended to be profitable.

The government formally adopted a policy of privatisation in the mid-1980s, when it commissioned First Boston, the New York investment bank, to draw up a master plan for selling off state-owned companies. Owing to opposition by the various ministers responsible for the companies, their

The new Labour-led government has stressed wholehearted support for privatisation

management and workers. First Boston's recommendations were never implemented.

The only major government company sale to take place in recent years has been that of Paz, Israel's largest oil company, to Australian businessman Jack Liberman.

Realising that its programme was going virtually nowhere, the government last year set up the special three-interministerial committee in the hope that it would facilitate more rapid decisions.

Still, Mr Joseph Nitzani, head of the Government Corporations Authority — the body responsible for carrying out these decisions — believes there remain major obstacles which stand in the way of privatisation.

"The way things are going today, I can't say I'm very optimistic," he says.

"There is still a lot of bureaucracy in the decision-making process, and when a company decides it does not want to be privatised, it can put many

obstacles in my path."

Mr Nitzani has already submitted a proposal to the interministerial committee which would significantly enhance his authority and limit the number of parties involved in the decision-making process concerning each company.

Within the framework of its privatisation programme for the coming year, the government plans to further reduce its holdings in Israel Chemicals and Bezeq, sell off control in El Al, the national airline, and divest itself of its remaining shares in the Zim shipping company. In addition, it intends to draw up a proposal for privatising Israel Aircraft Industries — as well as prepare its holdings in Israel Chemicals and Bezeq, sell off control in El Al, the national airline, and divest itself of its remaining shares in the Zim shipping company. In addition, it intends to draw up a proposal for privatising Israel Aircraft Industries — as well as prepare its holdings in Israel Chemicals and Bezeq, sell off control in El Al, the national airline, and divest itself of its remaining shares in the Zim shipping company. 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MANAGEMENT

Ex-pats and Poles apart

Three years after the collapse of communism in Poland, managers recruited locally by foreign companies are experiencing the frustrations of reporting to expatriate superiors.

There are at least 1,000 locally-recruited Polish managers working for foreign companies. By offering high salaries (by local standards) the foreign companies were able to cream off the best of the experienced managerial talent as well as attract young graduates.

But one expatriate management consultant says: "The younger staff are beginning to get bored now that they have learned the job that they were taken on to do."

Marius Bialek, from H. Neumann, an Austrian management consulting company, says: "I know there is something wrong when good people I recruited a year ago come to me looking for another job."

He believes some frustration will be alleviated by sending the more talented managers to run new offices elsewhere in eastern Europe. As for those who leave, few are likely to seek jobs with Polish-owned companies. Instead they will look to other multinationals.

One reason is pay. A senior executive working for a Polish company earns about \$12,000 (£7,900) a year although top salaries can go as high as \$88,000.

Foreign companies pay between \$28,000 and \$72,000 to locally-recruited senior executives. That contrasts, however, with the \$60,000 to \$200,000 a year their expatriate colleagues and superiors are earning.

But the era of the expatriate manager in Poland may be limited. Gaspol, for example, is a joint venture between a number of Polish liquefied petroleum gas distributors and the UK's Calor group, Primasgas of France and SHV from Holland.

Bob West, the managing director, says: "The four expatriates in place should be out of here in three years. After all, I shall never know the market, the language and the country as well as the local people."

Christopher Bobinski

When Yana Yevinzon emigrated to the US in 1978, the Soviet authorities tore up her passport. Two years ago, she returned to become executive housekeeper of the new Moscow Aerostar Hotel. When she boarded the Aeroflot flight, she was so frightened that her Russian momentarily deserted her.

Aly Rehemtulla, a former refugee from Idi Amin's Uganda, spent his first nights at the Aerostar fighting off mosquitoes in a hot windowless room. He had given up a successful career with Holiday Inn in Toronto to become rooms manager in a half-built hotel in a country convulsed by political and economic change.

Why did they do it? "The challenge," says Yevinzon. "Russia is the new frontier," says Rehemtulla. "This is the biggest adventure I have ever had."

The 417-room Aerostar, a joint venture between Aeroflot and IMP, a diversified Canadian manufacturing and services group, opened last March, aiming to provide western business visitors with the kind of facilities they find at home. Its brightly-lit marble lobby is certainly a warm refuge from the bewildering streets outside. The service is friendlier than at many western hotels.

The hotel does, however, differ from western establishments. The plumbing is slightly eccentric and the rooms are not soundproof. And few western hotels have mathematicians making the beds, economists mopping the floors or surgeons doing the laundry.

The Aerostar building, a 10-minute drive from the Kremlin, was built by Aeroflot to house athletes competing in the 1980 Moscow Olympics.

It was never completed or used, probably because the US boycott of the games reduced the number of rooms.

It was spotted by Kenneth Rowe, IMP chairman, during one of his regular visits to Moscow. IMP services Aeroflot aircraft in Canada. Rowe suggested to Aeroflot that they turn the building into a hotel which IMP would run.

Robert Dearden, a Toronto construction worker who was hired to supervise the work, had his own ideas about what should have been done with the building.

"I would have knocked the thing down," he says. Only one of the nine floors had plumbing or lights. A drainpipe descended from the roof through the middle of the building, neatly cutting the entrance to a room in half.

The bearded Dearden, who wears an earring, a lumberjack shirt and a Montreal Canadiens cap, tried to equip the hotel locally. "People could get what I wanted but they

said they had to install it. And they said they wanted to be paid in computers or television sets. I thought 'I haven't got time for this'." Everything used in the refurbishment and furnishing of the hotel was imported, including the light bulbs.

Three years on, Dearden has found local suppliers of some equipment and material. He employs as a middleman a multilingual Iranian doctor who, after 20 years in the country, has a wealth of Russian contacts.

Patrick Doffenies, the Aerostar's French-born purchasing manager, had less luck with Russian suppliers. Doffenies spent two months concluding an agreement with a supplier of Russian wine. Only then did he discover that the Russian company could not afford to buy bottles and had been planning to sell the wine in barrels.

A farmer with 3,000 cattle offered to supply beef on condition that the Aerostar built him an abattoir.

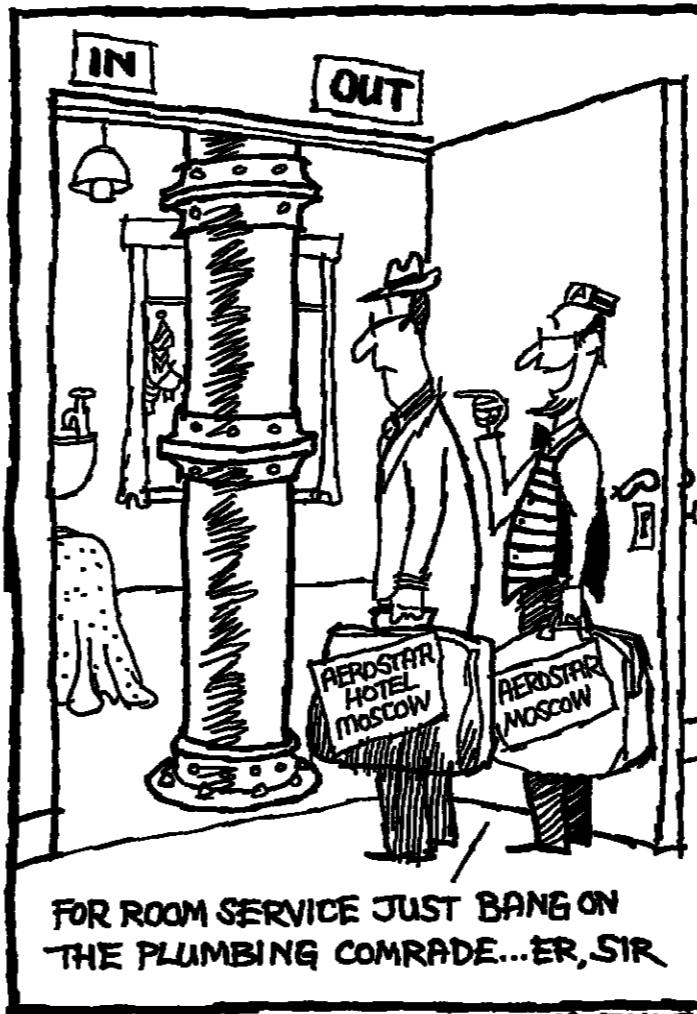
A supplier of fruit from Georgia seemed more promising. He appeared well-organised and had translated all documents into English. The fruit would be flown from Georgia.

Doffenies concluded an agreement. On the day the first consignment was due, the supplier phoned from Georgia to say the plane had run out of fuel. "It was hopeless," says Doffenies.

Apart from some produce which the hotel buys from local markets in the summer, all the Aerostar's food arrives by lorry from France once a week. Lobster is flown in from Nova Scotia. Cleaning materials and office supplies are imported from the UK.

Import duties fluctuate from week to week, lorries are regularly opened by customs and items frequently go missing. But by importing virtually everything it needs, the hotel provides the quality of food and cleanliness its guests expect.

The result, however, can be an unbearable temptation to staff who steal from the hotel and occasionally from the guests. Marilyn Barker Paulson, the Aerostar's Canadian sales and marketing



FOR ROOM SERVICE JUST BANG ON THE PLUMBING COMRADE...ER, SIR

tudes, instilling new standards was difficult. When Yevinzon told an initial training session that the customer was always right, the staff laughed. She showed them what she meant.

When one guest asked for a hair dryer - something the hotel did not then possess - Yevinzon went home and got her own. When another guest asked for his shoes to be shined, Yevinzon did the job herself in front of the staff.

"The most difficult thing to get them to understand was that it was the guest who was paying their salaries and not the government," Yevinzon says.

The employees, however, proved quick learners because Yevinzon believed they were so highly educated.

Apart from the surgeon who does the laundry, there is a doctor running the gym, a paediatric nurse supervising one of the floors and a petroleum engineer in charge of the storeroom. Many of the cleaning staff are economics graduates.

For most, money was an important attraction. The Russian staff earn an average of 12,000 roubles a month.

The hotel would like to pay an additional foreign currency bonus, but this is illegal. Instead, it gives staff vouchers worth between \$125 and \$200 a month to spend in Moscow's hard currency stores.

Many exchange the vouchers for dollars on the black market at a 20 per cent discount. Tatjana Golikova, an assistant to the training manager at the hotel, says that if she had continued in her old job as an English and German teacher she would now be earning 3,000 roubles a month.

Even some in cleaning jobs see the hotel as a way to get ahead. As a trained economist Natasha Komarova is hopelessly over qualified for making beds and cleaning baths.

But she believes the Aerostar will eventually offer her the chance to become a manager. Not everyone is as enthusiastic. "I was in shock for the first few days," says Yuri Kiselev, a cleaner and former research economist and computer programmer. "I'm looking for a new job somewhere else, or maybe I will be able to rise here. I'm not satisfied with my status here. This is not intelligent work."

Alexander Biryukov, the petroleum engineer who runs the store room, says the quality of staff being hired now is not as high as when the hotel first started.

There are other western hotels and joint ventures in Moscow and working at the Aerostar is no longer such a novelty. "The first people who were hired were anxious about how they were doing," he says. "Now the attitude is: 'Why shouldn't I have this salary?'"

Following in Eskimo footsteps

Old wives' tales used to claim that eating fish was good for your brain. That has never been proved, but medical research over the last decade suggests that fish can help to reduce cholesterol levels.

Eskimos, who eat enormous amounts of marine mammal blubber and fatty cold water fish have markedly low levels of damaging cholesterol.

Indeed, compared with other races, Eskimos have a higher level of cardio-protective HDL-cholesterol (the so-called good cholesterol).

So what is the effect of eating fish? The cardio-protective substances contained in many cold-water fish are unsaturated omega-3 fatty acids, the most common of which are eicosapentaenoic acid (EPA) and docosahexaenoic acid (DHA) which increase the levels of cardio-protective HDL cholesterol.

Another potentially beneficial effect of these fish oils is that as they become incorporated into capillary cell membranes, they help the red blood cells flow more easily in the tiny vessels.

Moreover, there is preliminary evidence that omega-3 fatty acids may lower blood pressure and reduce inflammatory reactions.

The highest concentrations of EPA and DHA are found in all seafoods and particularly in cold-water fish.

Atlantic mackerel, Pacific salmon and Albacore tuna have the highest levels.

The added oil in a can of fish is likely to be vegetable oil and not omega-3 fatty acid. However, draining the oil - a good idea, because the added vegetable oil doubles the calorie load - does remove 15-25 per cent of precious omega-3 fatty acids because these are oil soluble.

Although there are many fish oil supplements on the market, their long-term safety record is not known.

The best bet at present is to eat fish at least three times a week, remembering that the greater the amount of dark flesh on the fish, the greater the fat and the omega-3 fatty acid content.

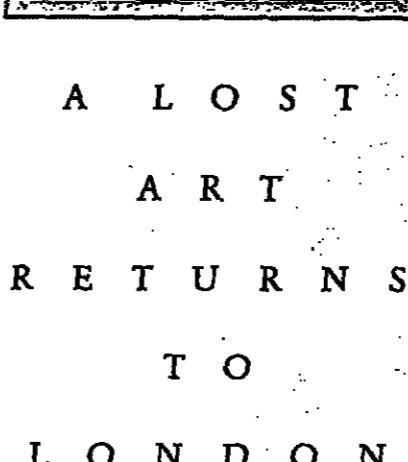
Dr Michael McGannon
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An American Hotel

PEOPLE

Building up Taylor Woodrow



Sir George Russell

background is financial not industrial. Lord Bellwin, who had been a director since 1985, retired shortly after Parsons arrived.

The company, which cut its interim dividend after losing £16m in the six months to June 30, hopes that Sir George's breadth of experience will help address charges that the board has long been too introspective, as well as complement the skills of Parsons, an accountant who has worked in Canada for 30 years. The appointment comes as part of a thorough reorganisation initiated by Parsons, who arrived at the end of March, and who has been overhauling the board, prompting several departures and simplifying what was previously an opaque hierarchy.

While Sir George has been unable to shield Marley from the ravages of recession, analysts credit him with being clear-thinking and unafraid of tough decisions. He is perhaps better known as chairman of the Independent Television Commission, a post he has held since 1991.

Taylor Woodrow, which closed its North American construction operation but which still retains large housing interests in the USA, is attracted by Sir George's experience in North America - beginning in 1968 when he worked with Welland Chemical of Canada, before joining Alcan in 1972. He is still a member of the worldwide board of Alcan Aluminium Limited.

Salomon goes global

This year's list of 21 new managing directors at Salomon Brothers exhibits a markedly more international flavour than in previous years, with as many as 8 of the 21 new managing directors based in London and a further 3 in Japan. This reflects not only the solid and increasing profitability of the London operation in recent years, but also a change in philosophy at the top of the Wall Street investment bank since the arrival of British-born Deryck Maughan as chairman and chief executive officer. Salomon normally appoints around 20 managing directors at a time; last year just three were London-based. Including the new appointments, there are 130 managing directors worldwide, with 21 in

London. The new managing directors are: Henry Clark III, Mark Davis, Gregory Erardi, David Fisher, James Forsee, Ellis Jones, David Levy, John Lipsky, Jonathan Sandelman, and George Shapiro. In London, Salomon has appointed Jeremy Amias, Simon Bowden, Paul Brewer, Frederic DiGiusto, Bruno Gabriele, Sara McKeerhan, David Turnbull, and Steven Tye. In Japan, the three are: Louis Faust, Yoshihiko Mikami and Ikuo Morimoto.

Christopher Dreyfus has been appointed a director of RIVER & MERCANTILE AMERICAN TRUST.

Stephen Denford, formerly a director of 3i, is joining SUMIT Equity Ventures.

Study in journalism

Peter Cole, founding editor of the short-lived Sunday Correspondent and editor of the Sunday Times News Review for the past two years, is exchanging Wapping for Preston to take up the newly created post of professor in journalism at the University of Central Lancashire. He starts towards the end of January.

Cole, 46, denies any unhappiness at the Sunday Times, calling the move "positive rather than negative." He says it is prompted "partly by age" and adds that he likes dealing with students. He answered an advertisement, and remarks on the "exhaustive 2 day interviewing process" - quite unlike the generally much less time-consuming affair for a journalistic job.

In contrast with the US and some continental European countries, Britain has hitherto largely resorted to the cult of the amateur when educating its journalists. Last year, however, the University of Central Lancashire, then Lancashire Polytechnic, introduced one of the country's first undergraduate degrees in journalism.

Can the profession be taught? A Cambridge economist

Greycoat draws in its horns

Greycoat, the troubled property investment company which on Thursday reported pre-tax losses of £39.2m, up from £8.8m, for the six months to September 30, is taking the reduction of its administrative overheads seriously.

In the words of Richard Guignard, managing director, finance: "It's not just a question of getting rid of a few executives".

Three directors of the 12-person board are to resign at the end of the year. Barry Cockerell, deputy managing director and a member of the board since the founding of Greycoat in 1978, is to leave, as is Walter Kumar, who joined the company as a development executive in 1988 and moved up to the board in 1989. Alastair Ferguson, a non-executive director since the company's inception, is also going.

All this follows Geoffrey Wilson's decision earlier in the year to move from executive to non-executive chairman. He was the founder of the company, but, says Guignard, is now paid "a fraction of what he received before".

John Menzies, formerly non-executive deputy chairman of Corah, has been appointed to the board of ROBERT H LOWE as md of the childrenswear division, Babygro.

Michael Guerin, director responsible for NORTHBRIAN WATER'S Enterprise division, is appointed group commercial director and md of Entec Europe; Ian MacMillan, md of Northumbrian Environmental Management, is appointed director of customer services at Northumbrian Water.

Peter Wilson, md of integrated Environmental Management, the group's joint venture with International Technology of America, also becomes md of Northumbrian Environmental Management.

Stuart Ralstrick is to become md of Amtec Europe; and David Watson, company secretary of Northumbrian Water Group.

Leonard Rose, currently md, and Richard Rose, currently commercial director, are to become joint md of WHOLESALE FITTINGS from January.

Geoffrey Miller, formerly md of BARCLAYS UK Banking Division, has been appointed banking adviser to MOORES ROWLAND.

CIVIL ENGINEERING

Oceanographic research centre

Turbine buildings

The Natural Environment Research Council (NERC) has awarded WIMPEY CONSTRUCTION SOUTHERN a £25m contract to build the Southampton Oceanography Centre.

Wimpey is set to start work on the project, which is jointly funded by NERC and the University of Southampton, in the New Year.

The development at Empress Dock, adjacent to Ocean Village, will be a striking addition

to the Southampton waterfront. Set on a five hectare site, the project comprises a multi-storey, brick clad and concrete framed building offering 23,000 sq metres of research and teaching facilities for the Research Council.

Architecture/Colin Amery

Beauty wrung from civic constructions

Every year the Civic Trust announces its awards for schemes that it considers to be the best contributions to the improvement of the quality of the environment. The quality of the architecture, planning, landscape and civic design are all taken into account.

In order to cover the whole country thoroughly it is divided by alternate years into the Metropolitan counties and the 'shire' counties. This year is the turn of the shires of England as well as Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man. The awards are sponsored by Redland plc.

The value of these wide ranging and catholic awards is that they paint a clear picture of the state of the arts of architecture and design. In the middle of the harshest recession in the building and construction industry for some 45 years it may be surprising to find that nearly 1,100 entries were received. Cynics may say that publicity is even more important during recession; or is it that architects and developers have time on their hands?

Despite the large number of entries, the trust is forced to admit that high quality new development is disappointingly rare. The assessors reported that far too many were mediocre and ordinary and that there are still far too many 'overscaled, bland and totally inappropriate modern developments'. It is a depressing picture of the new buildings of the last two years and a very poor reflection of the low standards that the majority of the architectural profession finds acceptable.

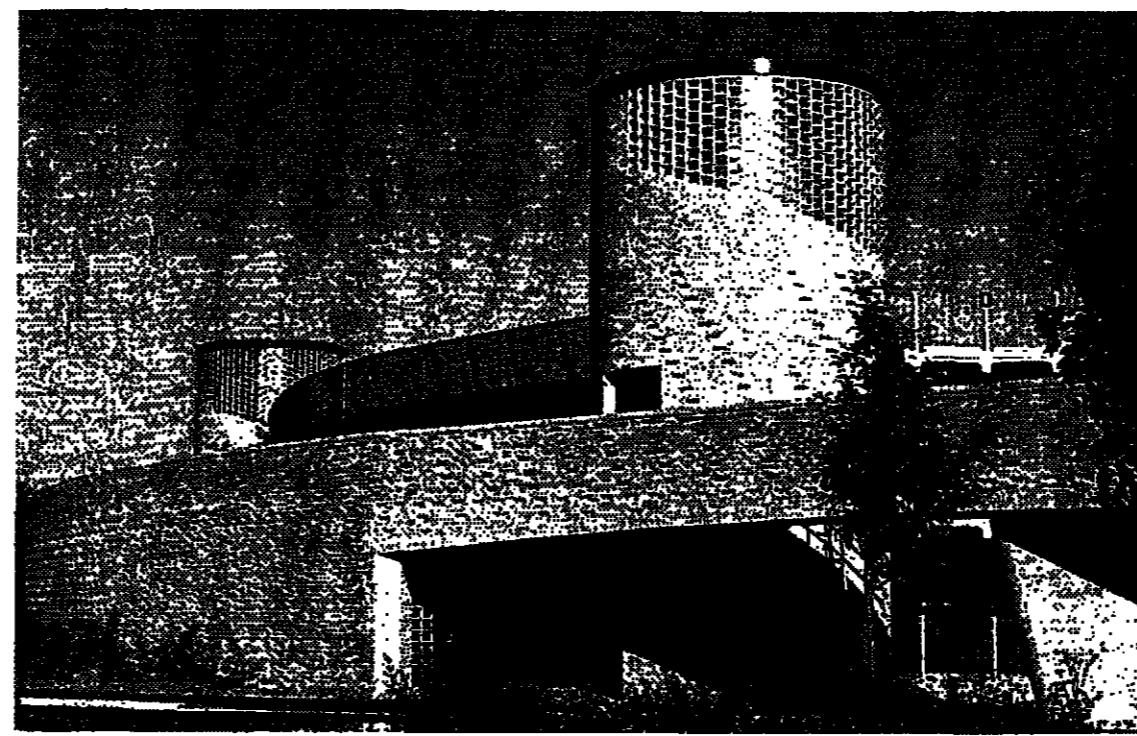
The report of the awards, written by the director of the Civic Trust, Martin Bradshaw, makes depressing reading. On the evidence before him of all the entries he is forced to say that the centres of too many British provincial

towns and cities are spoilt by new schemes that 'seem designed to secure planning permission and avoid criticism, and are all too often lifeless and ordinary.' Commercial interests come in for particularly strong criticism. One assessor pointed out the horror of a group of truly awful luxury headquarters built by nationally known insurance and financial institutions.

The overall gloom of the report makes the highlighting of the few good schemes more important. There are some 18 award winners and one special Redland Prize. The winners do not exactly glow like beacons of quality, but a few are exceptional and several are on the road to excellence. Stansted Airport and the Crescent Wing at the Sainsbury Centre for the Visual Arts at the University of East Anglia, both designed by Sir Norman Foster and Partners, are outstanding.

The two commercial award winners are good, but not quite in the Foster league. Royal Insurance House, on a landscaped country site near Peterborough designed by Arup Associates, is distinguished by its successful integration of buildings and landscape. The landscaping, a series of outdoor rooms with beach and lime plantings, is by Derek Lovejoy and Partners. The second commercial scheme is a shopping and office development in Belfast by the Building Design Partnership for John Lewis Developments. I have not seen this in the flesh, but it looks to be only of average standard from the photographs.

If these awards are in any way a reflection of the economic state of the nation, then we have to face the fact that the growth area seems to be in tourism and restoration of historic buildings. The assessors were full of praise for high standard of much conservation work and it is undoubtedly



The award winning Avenue de Chartres car park: already a landmark in Chichester

true that the architects who work in this area show dedication and skills that are absent from much new development. It appears that, when faced with a clean slate, architects are unable to decide what to do with any real conviction.

One award winning building is a set of studios and workshops dedicated to training courses in crafts and restoration at West Dean College, near Chichester, Sussex in design of a addition to the long range of a party 17th-century listed mansion. The Architectural and Planning Partnership has pulled off something of a coup. The firm has designed a strong flint and stone wing with almost William Burges-like projecting windows: powerful stuff. At Buckfast Abbey, Devon the addition of a restaurant in stone and slate shows the value of using local materials as well as the ingenuity of incorporating the

remains of a 13th-century gatehouse. There is one inevitable but usually grim modern building that architects have failed to tackle convincingly: the multi-storey car park. This year there are two among the 18 award winners. The Cathedral and Quay Car Park in Exeter, designed by Niall Phillips Architects, is singled out for the special Redland Award because of the way it achieves the remarkable feat of fitting a car park onto a city slope, and in the process managing to dignity the whole function of car parking. The other car park award winner is the more flamboyant and controversial Avenue de Chartres car park in Chichester, Sussex, designed by Birds, Portchmouth, Russum Architects. This intriguing complex won an architectural competition, and its five circular brick towers and honeycomb brick walls have become a landmark.

Tourist buildings and visitors centre that have won awards include the extraordinary White Cliffs experience in Dover and the more discreet reception centre at Brodick Castle on the Isle of Arran. A lead mine, an iron furnace, dressed Welsh quoards and restored canals all reflect the new uses for a defunct industrial past, and are good of their kind.

But what is missing from this year's awards are any significant and good new houses. The Civic Trust rightly complains of the low standards that are accepted by the volume house builders. This is ultimately the most depressing element of all. A low standard of house design means a universally low awareness of the value of good design. And good design, like so many other values, begins at home. The people of Britain suffer from a design vacuum on the domestic front, which is not a good omen for the future.

Ballet/Clement Crisp

Tales of Beatrix Potter

It is reasonable to assume that one does not see waltzing mice until *delirium tremens* has set in. The Royal Ballet proved otherwise on Friday night at the first stage performance of *Tales of Beatrix Potter* — though my suspicions are that only a company seriously in its cups would consider staging this bizarre entertainment. There were waltzing mice all over the place, and tuttipung pigs, terminally winsome squirrels, a hedgehog laundress, and the entire and exhaustingly cute cast of Beatrix Potter characters whom Sir Frederick Ashton set jiggling in a film 21 years ago.

That the film was a treat for youngest children is without doubt. Its small-scale dances, its runty-tum music and pervasive quaintness, were a clever exercise in capitalising on a childhood classic. But that this thin stuff should be transferred to the stage; that an opera house should expend funds upon a ballet to attract a juvenile audience; when major works — *Cinderella*, *The Nutcracker* — can do this with choreographic and musical distinction; that sketchy little incidents about animals should be considered a proper use of a national ballet company, is beyond belief.

The staging is misguided and unworthy of the Royal Ballet and of the reputation of its founding choreographic genius. During seventy interminable minutes we watch



This is ballet conceived as the art of nostalgia

serious and gifted artists scuttling about, heavily masked, paws up, whiskers a-twist, making tiny, tiny jokes, and bunched and extinguished by bloated outfits that are scrupulous copies of Beatrix Potter's drawings, while saccharin or vulgar tunes proclaim the dubious delights of Victorian musical taste.

It is ballet conceived as the art of nostalgia — and psychologically very odd indeed. It is back-to-the-nursery as an aesthetic creed. It is entertainment for the tiniest tots that feeds off a brilliant original to make a calculated and commonplace show. It is, I am forced to conclude, a play by Covent Garden to bring in an audience on the tugging arms of children. It is an abrogation of the Royal Ballet's duty to

show works of art.

The set design by Christine Edzard is anaemic and looks amateurish: washed-out backcloths with elaborate properties that crowd the stage. The dancers are invisible, their performances lost under masks and the ballooning outlines of their costumes; only Matthew Hart makes something lively of Squirrel Nutkin. Of the narrative of the tales there is but the sketchiest evidence.

Perhaps the most serious implication of this sorry affair is the existence of a body of Ashton work which should — to the advantage of audience and dancers — be restored to the repertory. Ashton, a master craftsman, made these dances for the camera and the special circumstances of the cinema. To show them on stage

The programme is repeated at the Royal Opera House on December 12, 16, 22, 30, 31

Concert/Andrew Clements

A Venetian feast

Connoisseurs of fine Monteverdi have much to savour in London at present.

Last week the New London Consort presented Philip Pickett's performing edition of the Vespers of 1610; in a fortnight's time the same performers are introducing to Britain Pickett's much more contentious version of the *fauva in musica*.

Separating them on Thursday was a programme of Monteverdi that threw down no textural or musical challenges, just a succession of delights: the Paris-based Les Arts Florissants under their founder-director William Christie had an edge: Titania was wilful, sexually intriguing; Oberon's androgynous air masked temper, passion; the lovers were sincere. The ballet was now saturated with roguishness. Neither Lesley Collier nor Bruce Sansom convinced me of the otherworldly allure of Titania and Oberon; the lovers played for laughs in a singularly leaden way. It was Tetsuya Kumakawa, giving the finest danced performance I have seen of the role, who makes Puck a truly magical being. His ability to turn and soar without apparent effort, his dazzling clarity of step, were marvellous. The rest was sentimentality — and fat.

Christie has an uncanny knack of recruiting vivid young voices to his group, skillfully deploying and complementing their talents. So for this programme he had three sopranos of vividly contrasted tone and personality, a male alto of rounded subtlety without a hint of hoot or acidic edge, and pairs of tenors and basses of disarming enthusiasm and agility. Each is nurtured and encouraged to give of their best: Christie's drawing together of the threads, relating voices to instruments (a string septet, which he directed from the harpsichord), became an ever-changing web of possibilities, constantly

renewing itself.

The concern for detail that Christie lavishes on the performances — right down to his strict marshalling of every stage entrance and exit — logically informs his programme-building too.

With *Il combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda* as the centrepiece, the concert was

enriched by two of the eight-part *madrigali guerrieri* from book 8, ending with the extraordinary "Hon ch'el c'el a la terra", and in between offered a tour around some of the more intimate settings. The placing of *Il combattimento* was perfectly judged to maximise its dramatic contrast, with Nicolas Cavallier as a compelling narrator, nimble never-bombastic, and muscular, intense instrumental playing.

Yet the smaller-scale pieces

offered equal delights: the seductive meshing of soprano (the luscious-toned Calire Brus) and men's voices in the madrigal sequence of *Lamento della ninfa*; the bright, crystalline accuracy of Sandrine Piau in "Chi voi haer leice"; the extraordinary sombre textures of "Intertote speraneza" from book 7, with its pair of tenors, Bernard Loonen and Adrian Brand, emerging from a swarm of buzzing theorbo and lirone figures.

But then everything was lit with the same happy inspiration: it was altogether an enthralling occasion, a joyous feast of vital, committed singing.

Sponsorship/Anthony Thorncroft

Survive, not party

This is the time of year when arts sponsorship makes news. Last week the Association for Business Sponsorship of the Arts released its annual survey of the size of the sponsorship honey pot; next Friday ABSA entertains its Patron, the Prince of Wales, and hundreds of corporate chairmen, arts directors, and general hangers on at the annual awards ceremony for imaginative (or enduring) sponsorships.

Sponsorship has so far survived the recession remarkably well. ABSA has come up with a total spend of £64.4m in 1991-92, a rise of 14 per cent on the year. However, as ever, the statistics hide the real story.

Direct sponsorship has performed brilliantly, growing by 28 per cent to £27.5m while money invested in corporate membership schemes has fallen by 37 per cent to £7.6m.

It is obvious what has happened. Companies are concentrating their money on sponsorships which might give commercial benefits, and cutting back on some of their corporate memberships, which are mainly used for entertaining — sometimes directors just enjoying each other's company.

As ever festivals and opera remain the favoured areas. But while virtually all the £14.2m that festivals received was in sponsorship, opera attracted £12m this way and another £1.5m through membership schemes. ABSA's director general, Colin Tweedie, expects more growth in 1992-93, but at a slower rate.

The 30 short listed companies from over 500 nominations for Friday's prize day contain the biggest ever northern presence — six companies — reflecting the successful opening of ABSA North, based at Halifax. Among the lesser known names at the National Theatre for the awards will be Sherlock Hairshop from Hemel Hempstead, which competes with Champagne Piper-Heidsieck and the Harwood Company in the First Time Sponsor category.

Other names are more familiar. Marks & Spencer and Sainsbury's battle it out with Turner Kenneth Brown for the Long Term Commitment prize while Cable & Wireless, Lloyds Bank, Brazil and Thorn EMI are the big names up for British Art Overseas. The other key 'Oscar' for the best Corporate Programme will go to either Mobil, Northern Electric or VAG.

Sponsorship is growing thanks to small and medium sized companies. The minnows seeking recognition and the Sponsorship by a Small Business prize are Carroll, Dempsey & Thirkell, a London based design group; Edwin Shirley Trucking, also from the capital; and Renwick Garages of Newton Abbott.

The manufacturers of fast moving consumer goods have been conspicuously absent as arts sponsors. This could be changing. Unilever is getting more involved through its subsidiaries like Lever Bros and Van den Bergh's. The collective pot was £50.000 to support *Hamlet* and *The Tempest* at the RSC. This allows the RSC to apply for top-up money from the Business Sponsorship Incentive Scheme, which is designed to encourage new sponsors.

The programmes of front of house material will feature three brands: Peral, Comfort and Flora, rather than the Unit

lever corporate identity. Another part of the group, Walls Ice Cream, has put £10,000 towards this year's Bristol Old Vic's pantomime, *Aladdin*. Here again, the money has been doubled through the BSIS.

The 1992 Mobil Playwriting Competition for the Royal Exchange Theatre has been won by Simon Burke for his play *The Lodger*. He receives £15,000 and five other writers will share £25,000. The Royal Exchange will certainly produce one of the short listed plays, ideally *The Lodger*.

The Mobil biennial is still supreme in the under-sponsorised area of drama competitions. It has a good track record, with *Amazons Barbarians and Your Home in the West* among the previous winners. Organising the whole enterprise — there were 1,250 entries — is sticking with the venture. Unlike some other oil companies Mobil is happy with its investment in the arts. It also contributes £175,000 to a lavish touring production of a good old pot boiler which it can use for entertaining this year, *Charlie's Aunt*; next year, *Crucifer of Blood*.

The death of arts sponsorship has been much exaggerated. With good marketing of an attractive product companies are prepared to invest funds to create new art events.

In May 1993 the BOC Covent Garden Festival will take place, building on a rather faltering debut in 1990. BOC is using the Festival to make a £500,000, three year, commitment to the arts. The original backer, Guardian Royal Exchange, is maintaining the link, committing £300,000 over three years, and American Express has come up with £50,000.

With top-ups from the BSIS and one off contributions, the joint chairmen of the Festival, restauranteur Laurence Isaacson and Neville Abraham, expect to have £1m in the bank by the New Year, enough to underwrite three successive festivals.

The Festival has attracted backers because it is targeted — on youth, and on opera and music theatre. Ironically, neither the Royal Opera House nor the ENO is participating directly but Isaacson has gained access to a 2,000 seat auditorium in the heart of the district which will provide a specific venue for National Youth Opera: the Freemason's Hall. This will be the first time it will be open to non-musicians. The Donmar Warehouse, St Paul's Church (for Monteverdi's *Vespers*), and the Piazza Garages of Newton Abbott.

Sponsorship in kind, and mutually beneficial deals, are a feature of the new hard-nosed attitude to sponsorship. The current Patrick Caulfield show at Hyde Park's Serpentine Gallery has a splendid catalogue, thanks to the Academy Group, publishers of Art & Design magazine.

Academy has paid for the all colour catalogue and given the Serpentine 600 copies, which should bring it over £5,000 in income. The catalogues are also incorporated in the latest issue of Art & Design, increasing its appeal. Add in a Royal College of Art dinner for the artist and the investment tops £20,000.

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FT Business Weekly — global business report with James Bellini

0710-0730, 1240-1300 (Wed)

Media Europe

0710-0730, 1240-1300 (Fri)

FT Eastern Europe Report

Sky News 2030-2100, 2230-2300 FT Business

Business Weekly

SATURDAY

CNN 0000-0030, 1800-1830 World Business This Week — a joint FT/CNN production

Super Channel

0830-0900 FT Business Weekly

Sky News 1130-1200, 1730-1800 FT Media Europe

SUNDAY

CNN 1830-1900, 1800-1830 World Business This Week

Super Channel

1830-1900 FT Business Weekly

Sky News 0130-0200, 0630-0800 FT Media Europe

0830-1400, 2030-2100 FT Business Weekly

■ GENEVA

MUSIC

This year's Christmas show at the Grand Theatre is a French-language version of Cole Porter's *Kiss Me, Kate*, daily Dec 17-31 except Dec 24 and 25 (3121). Petr Altrichter conducts.

Prague Symphony Orchestra and Chorus in works by Poulenc and Martinu (310 6611). Other concerts: on

Wed, Jesus Lopez-Cobos

conducts Lausanne Chamber

Orchestra in works by Bach, Mozart, Moret and Haydn; Armin Jordan conducts Orchestre de la Suisse Romande on Dec 16 (311 2511).

FINANCIAL TIMES

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Monday December 7 1992

A shot across the EC's bows

TOWARDS THE end of Europe's *annus horribilis*, Switzerland has sent its own small shaft into the battered edifice of European integration. Yesterday's Swiss rejection of the European Economic Area and, by implication, the European Community was neither unexpected, nor a disaster. The longer term effects on Switzerland are likely, however, to be negative.

Beyond its frontiers, the No will delay the establishment of the free-trade area between the EC and the European Free Trade Association, which was due to have started in January. The vote delivers another jolt to EC leaders as they confront the larger conundrum: the future of the Maastricht treaty after its rejection by another small country, Denmark.

Switzerland's history of neutrality and its direct democracy make it a special case. But the vote is a further example of the volatility of electorates. As in Denmark, the Yes campaign was supported by the country's political and business establishment. Yet the people trusted their instincts more than their leaders.

The Swiss government believed the domestic recession, coupled with political changes across Europe, would make voters less resistant to diluting independence. Instead, disarray within and outside their borders may have made the electorate more sceptical about abandoning their formula for wealth and stability. The electorate was not ready to support the Berne policy of making the EEA a waiting room for EC mem-

bership. The Efta-EC link would have drawn Switzerland – with the exemption of agriculture – fully into Europe's single market. It would have dismantled some cartels, without helping the country a part in formulating the EC laws to which it would be subject.

Further ahead, Community membership would have integrated the Swiss into the Community's political and monetary union. It would be regrettable if the electorate's vote against integration added to misgivings elsewhere in Efta about joining the European mainstream. Yet the EEA can exist without Switzerland. If, through the single market, economic integration continues, more Swiss companies may transfer manufacturing capacity abroad. In view of the sharp split yesterday between French- and German-speaking Switzerland, the larger question centres on the future of the country's own political system. When Europe was split into two blocs, Switzerland gave the appearance of a model of democracy. Now that the cold war has ended, the erstwhile paradigm may itself be weakened by linguistic division. Switzerland is strong enough to weather the short-term economic consequences of the vote.

Restoring Swiss consensus may be more difficult. As Switzerland ponders this loss of consensus, the rest of Europe must face up to the problems caused by the EC's failure so far to reconcile nationalist aspirations with the political structures needed for effective co-operation.

Urban policy

THE GROWTH of an "underclass" in decaying inner-city areas is the most formidable challenge facing western democracies in the 1990s, according to Mr Kenneth Clarke, the UK home secretary. In a thoughtful lecture to the Tory Reform Group two weeks ago, Mr Clarke acknowledged that, even when the economy was growing, it was not automatically the case that a fair share of it trickled down to inner-city residents. A partnership between the public, private and voluntary sectors was needed, he said, to help local communities find their own solutions.

These were fine words, but they were said only days after the chancellor's Autumn Statement which cut the government's urban spending plans from £986m this year to £866m in 1993-94. Within that total, the Urban Programme, the main source of regeneration funds for local authorities, is to be reduced by 66 per cent. The budgets of some urban development corporations will be cut (including that of the nascent Birmingham Heartlands UDC). Only the new Urban Regeneration Agency will receive more by the mid-1990s.

Funding is also to be cut back for City Challenge, the bidding process introduced 18 months ago to encourage inner-city councils to form local partnerships with the private and voluntary sectors to regenerate small areas. In the first two rounds of bidding, 31 of the 57 urban priority areas won £7.5m a year each of government money for five years. Many of the rest were equally deserving and hoped to be successful in a third round. But it is clear from the Autumn

Statement that there will be no further rounds in the next three years. Indeed, the totals set aside for City Challenge indicate that ministers expect some winners in the first two rounds to underspend or fail to secure approval for their detailed plans.

Yet City Challenge is the very epitome of the approach recommended by Mr Clarke, widely seen as a success even by local authorities which found the notion of winners and losers hard to swallow. Instead, urban authorities will be able to bid for a much smaller pot of £20m as part of a new scheme, Capital Partnership, designed to encourage councils to raise funds themselves by selling off assets. Capital Partnership may well offset the fall in established urban funding programmes overall, but there is no guarantee that it will be the most needy councils which will benefit.

Such zigzags in urban policy may reflect ministerial comings and goings at the environment department and changes in economic policy after the UK's ignominious exit from the exchange rate mechanism. But this further upheaval in the funding regime for urban regeneration will make it harder for responsible inner-city councils to plan for the future and build the partnerships Mr Clarke commands. It is certainly no way to tackle one of the most formidable challenges facing western democracies. The case for a single funding agency, at one remove from the politicians' grasp, with clear objectives and long-term stability is unanswerable.

Perilous moment

AUTHORITARIANISM is once again haunting Latin America. The second military coup attempt this year in Venezuela and Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori's dissolution of Congress in April underline the fragility of the region's democracies.

In a sense both countries are special cases. In Peru, the threat to the state from the left-wing fanatics of Sendero Luminoso and political stalemate helped to explain, if not to excuse, Mr Fujimori's move. Venezuela, one of the richest countries in Latin America, is still suffering a hangover from the 1970s oil boom and has yet to adapt its economy to a scarcity of resources.

Yet what both are suffering is a crisis of the state, and in this they are not alone. Neither provides the levels of public safety, health, education and other services required by the population, and they are no longer rich enough to buy off troublesome pressure groups. Unfortunately, most Latin American governments are in a similar position.

The temptation, when the going gets rough, is to blame liberalising and budget-cutting reforms. But it is the original system, not the effort to change it, that is responsible. Only by making their economies more responsive to market forces and by showing greater fiscal responsibility will Latin American governments achieve sustainable economic

growth and combat corruption, special-interest politics and misallocation of resources.

Change may be easier for strong governments than for weak ones, yet there are things that all could do to reduce the political risks. They could better communicate the benefits of their policies – pointing out, for example, that it is the poor who have most to gain from reduced inflation. Equally, they should do more to provide targeted help where policies are hurting the poor. They should also have smaller, more professional armed forces, which means initially paying off surplus men.

On balance, most Latin American countries are still on the right track, and deserve continuing international support. Even in Venezuela and Peru there are slivers of light. The Venezuelan coup failed because the rebels failed to overcome popular suspicion of men in uniform offering solutions to their problems. In Peru, Mr Fujimori was forced to hold elections last month to restate Congress. Without external pressure – mainly through the international financial institutions – it is doubtful whether Mr Fujimori would have made this concession.

Recent political troubles should be taken more as signs of progress than of despair. As De Tocqueville wrote, the most perilous moment for a bad government is when it seeks to mend its ways.

When South Korea's military rulers backed down in the face of mass protests and granted free elections in 1987, the country faced two big questions. Could it achieve the transition to democracy? And could it do so while maintaining the economic success which had made it one of the most dynamic of east Asia's dragon economies?

Next week's presidential elections are proof of progress on the political front. Mr Roh Tae Woo, the outgoing president who is constitutionally barred from standing again, will be the first leader to preside over a peaceful transfer of power since the republic was founded in 1948. For the first time in almost 40 years all of the principal candidates are from outside the military elite.

The race between the three leading candidates is turning into a cliffhanger. There is a ban on publishing opinion polls, but private polling by the political parties suggests that Mr Kim Dae-jung of the main opposition Democratic party is closing the gap on the frontrunner, Mr Kim Young-sam of the ruling Democratic Liberal party (DLP). The third candidate, Mr Chung Ju-yung, founder of Hyundai which is South Korea's largest conglomerate, is winning votes at the expense of Mr Kim Young-sam. He could tip the election in favour of Mr Kim Dae-jung.

In terms of policy, there is little to separate the candidates. All would be regarded as centre-right by western standards, although Mr Kim Dae-jung – a veteran opposition leader who was imprisoned under the military government – is regarded as closer to the labour movement than his rivals. Mr Kim Young-sam was also a leading opposition figure during the 26 years of military rule which ended in 1987. He joined the ruling party in 1990. Mr Chung Ju-yung, meanwhile, unlike his opponents is a political novice. He is the first industrialist to campaign for the Blue House, the presidential office in Seoul.

But whoever becomes the next president, he will face a big economic challenge. Korea's competitiveness and growth have fallen sharply since 1987. Reversing this trend will require economic reforms as extensive as the democratic changes Korea has undertaken.

The reforms are necessary to guide Korea from a dirigiste economy controlled by five-year plans to a competitive and deregulated free-market system. They are also needed to achieve the country's transition from a maker of labour-intensive, low-quality products, to a high-tech industrial power.

The introduction of democracy has encouraged economic change by loosening some government controls, such as suppression of the trade unions, which had kept wages low and supported the country's rapid push to industrialise since the 1960s. Reforms have become increasingly necessary, because the expansion of Korea's economy has made it much more difficult to manage by bureaucratic fiat.

We need to build a new economic structure appropriate to democracy. Our economy is still geared to the authoritarian past," says Mr Park Jae-yoon, economic adviser to Mr Kim Young-sam.

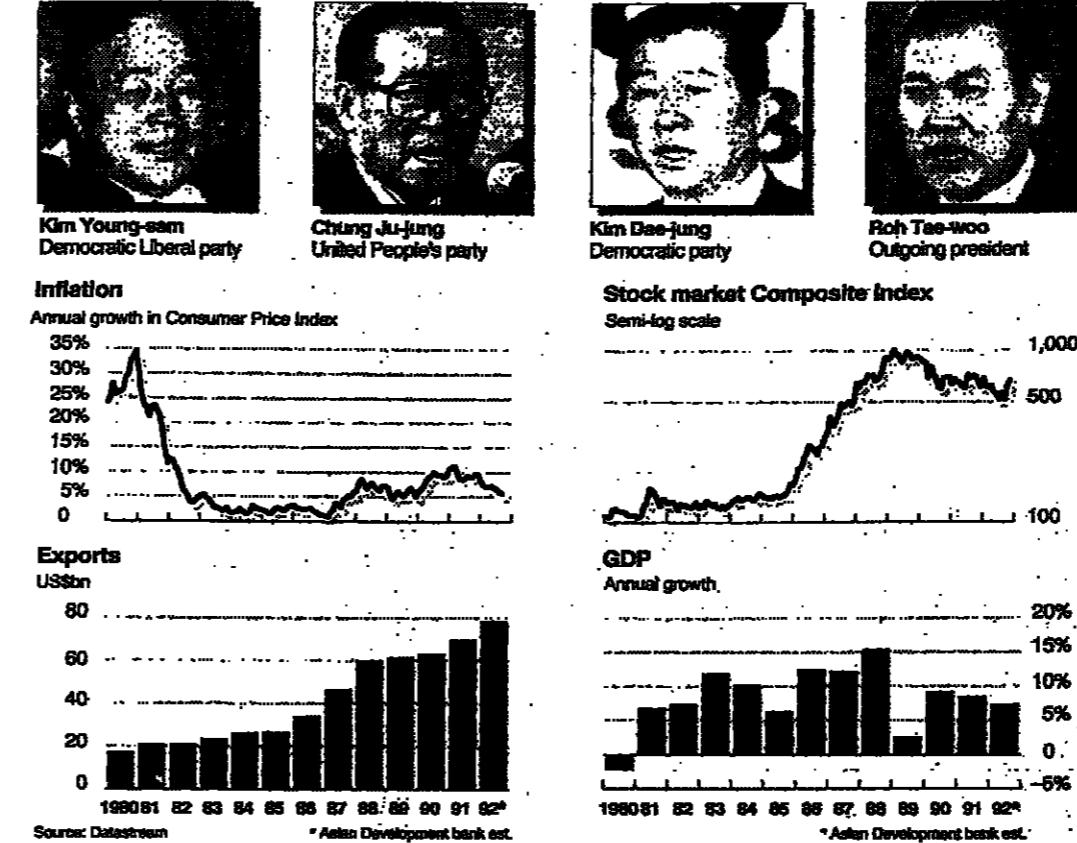
The fact that the economy is the main election issue indicates the healthy state of Korean democracy. The survival of political reforms is no longer an issue as it was in the 1987 presidential election.

The fundamental support for democratic development is in place.

Economic reform is the priority for the winner of next week's elections in South Korea, writes John Burton

Race to unchain the dragon

South Korea: counting the cost of democracy



The rise of an affluent, educated middle class is an important factor, and Koreans have grown accustomed to exercising their democratic powers: at least 80 per cent are expected to vote in the election.

The possibility of a military coup is remote. "Direct military intervention is now virtually impossible," says a western diplomat. "The army has become more democratic and the mood of the populace would make it difficult for the military to govern again."

Nonetheless, Korean democracy has some rough edges. Political corruption is widespread. Personalities, rather than ideology, dominate politics, which means that parties are subject to factional infighting.

Korea's current system of democracy is far from perfect. But the country will remain stable politically. The system is still evolving, but the major issues have been settled," says Ms Christine Hill, a political analyst for the Seoul office of stockbroker W.I. Carr.

The progress of democracy means that Korea's new president can devote more attention to the economy rather than political reform. The economy has fluctuated sharply in the past five years: growth in real gross national product fell from 13.1 per cent in 1987 to 6.8 per cent in 1990, rebounded to 9.3 per cent in 1991 before slowing again. In the third quarter of this year, GNP rose by just 3.1 per cent.

the smallest quarterly increase since 1981, when Korea was reeling from the slowdown in the international economy prompted by the Opec oil price shock.

There are several factors behind the erratic performance. One is the growth of the previously suppressed trade union movement and the strong negotiating power that workers have in an economy where the unemployment rate of just 2.4 per cent has created labour shortages.

Between 1988 and 1991 wages increased by an average annual rate of 20 per cent, eliminating Korea's advantage as a source of cheap labour. The rise in labour costs was not matched by productivity gains.

The result was a sharp fall in competitiveness. Export growth fell from 28 per cent in 1988 to 3 per cent in 1989.

The current account, which hit a peak surplus of \$16bn in 1988, fell into a deficit of \$2.7bn last year.

Faced with this downturn, the government panicked. It launched the biggest infrastructure programme in the nation's history, including the construction of 2m housing units, in an attempt to compensate for falling exports with stronger domestic demand. But this caused the economy to overheat by creating inflationary shortages of labour and construction materials.

Inflation climbed from 5.7 per cent in 1989 to 9.7 per cent in 1991, prompting another rethink in policy.

The result was a decision to cool the overheated economy earlier this year by squeezing the money supply and by postponing public expenditure projects. This caused the current slowdown in growth.

The government and most private

economists believe that the economy is now showing signs of sustainable improvement. Growth in average wages is expected to slow to about 10 per cent this year and unit labour costs to fall next year as productivity improves. As a result, the Bank of Korea, the central bank, predicts that inflation will slow to 6 per cent this year.

On the trade front, too, there are grounds for optimism. Import growth has slowed to a single-digit rate, while exports are this year expected to rise by almost 10 per cent. Part of this improvement reflects a depreciation of the Korean currency, the won, and a shift by exporters away from the markets of the US, Japan and Europe to faster growing markets in south-east Asia and China. The current account deficit is expected to narrow to \$4.5bn this year and the government forecasts a surplus by 1994.

Although most economists in Seoul expect that it may take another year for Korea to return to steady growth, the new president will then have a more secure base to tackle the main structural challenges.

lenges confronting the economy. These include:

- Strengthening industry's technological capability. Korea's export success – which has made it the world's 11th largest trading nation – has been based on the mass production of low-technology, high-volume goods. But the increase in the costs of production, particularly labour costs, is forcing Korean companies to produce higher quality, more sophisticated products.

To achieve this industry needs to spend much more on developing technology. Total annual corporate research spending in Korea amounts to \$4.5bn, about the equivalent of research investments made by General Motors or IBM, according to the Korea Development Institute. Only a handful of companies, such as Samsung Electronics, one of the world's largest manufacturers of memory chips, and Hyundai Motors, the country's largest car manufacturer, have large research budgets at present.

The government wants to raise research spending from 1.7 per cent of GNP to 5 per cent within the next decade. To achieve this target it is offering tax incentives to encourage corporate research. It is also giving funds to joint government-business projects, such as plans to develop advanced memory chips and high-definition television systems.

- Financial liberalisation. Government control of the banking system, in particular its setting of borrowing rates, has resulted in an inefficient distribution of capital. Interest rates are 5.7 percentage points higher than international borrowing rates, depriving companies of the capital necessary for investment in research and machinery and placing a heavy burden on their balance sheets. This puts Korean industry at a competitive disadvantage with regional rivals where the cost of finance is much less.

The government has drawn up a plan for deregulating the country's capital markets, but implementation of the most important reforms has been delayed until 1997. This is largely the result of pressure from the economic bureaucracy, which jealously guards its control of credit, and from the commercial banks which are vulnerable to the competition which would result from financial liberalisation.

There is agreement among the presidential candidates that government intervention – in particular of the financial system – is hindering economic development and that reform is necessary. "The government likes to keep its fingers in the economy, but it is running out of fingers as the economy becomes more advanced. It can no longer manage the economy as it once did," says Mr Yoo Jong-keun, economic adviser to Mr Kim Dae-jung.

Whether any of the presidential candidates will have the commitment to tackle the bureaucracy remains to be seen. "Every candidate says he wants to deregulate. But politicians have similar mindsets to bureaucrats, they want to keep power," argues Mr Lee Hahn-koo, president of the Daewoo Research Institute.

Keeping power may mean exercising a lighter grip on it. The next president will be judged by his ability to rekindle the economy. He may well conclude that loosening the government's control of the allocation of financial resources is the best way to achieve this. Deregulation would not only improve the country's industrial performance, but also transform Korea into a more democratic state by diluting bureaucratic power.

Samuel Brittan

Faults in EC package



The so-called EC growth package lies mainly in the realm of gesture politics. The Euclidon a year injection of demand, first mooted in Brussels, was obviously meant to be 1 per cent of Community GDP – something like its budget – rather than a specific programme. The likely EC action, involving the European Investment Bank, is about a tenth of that amount.

Meanwhile the British government mainly wants to give the label "growth package" to what it has already announced in the Autumn Statement in which it supposedly "rebalanced" expenditure and which holds out as an example to other governments. As for the genuine growth package proposals, there is a danger that they will come too late. They are being brought up just as the first signs of recovery are appearing in at least some parts of the international economy. There is thus a risk of aggravating rather than dampening the boom and bust cycle.

The risks of mistiming are greater at the international level, where the lags between diagnosis and policy implementation are even longer than they are domestically. Admittedly, mere signs that output may no longer be dropping (outside Germany) or could be rising slightly do not themselves make a growth package misguided. An anaemic recovery which increased the gap between actual and potential output, and was accompanied by high and rising unemployment, would still be a case for treatment. But would a conventional package be the right treatment for such below-par performance?

The one precedent we have to go on is at the level not of the EC, but of the Group of Seven countries at the Bonn summit of 1978. This was undertaken fairly late in the recovery phase of the business cycle. When it was felt that the upturn was not strong enough to make a sufficient dent in world unemployment. The centrepiece was a promise by the German government to stimulate demand by 1 per cent of GDP.

Many participants subsequently concluded that it had been a mistake and merely aggravated the inflationary boom of 1979, which coincided with the deposition of the Shah of Iran and the consequent shock to oil prices. Some, such as the former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, changed their minds more than once on this issue.

A proper analysis, either of the 1978 package or the one suggested now, would have to take account of the elementary fact that a fiscal stimulus – whether government spending or a monetary relaxation

A concerted tax cut is less open to the objection that the extra spending will leak abroad

– can only add to spending in money terms. Whether the result is real growth, just more inflation or some mixture of the two depends on the state of the economy and on the reactions of businessmen, unions, financial market participants and many other economic agents.

Although it took place all those years ago, there has never been a proper analysis of the Bonn summit package. It was simply assumed that all the stimulus represented real goods and generated more jobs.

The same naive assumption is being made by the more enthusiastic proponents of concerted EC action today. This confusion between nominal and real is especially likely

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Twelve men in search of a common meaning

At Edinburgh, EC leaders face the daunting task of clarifying the concept of subsidiarity, say Andrew Adonis and Andrew Tyrie

The European Community's leaders will try once again at this week's Edinburgh summit to make sense of subsidiarity, the idea enshrined in the Maastricht treaty that Brussels should not interfere in matters best left to member states.

A year ago, subsidiarity seemed an elixir for all the Community's ills. Back in 1990, when Mr Jacques Delors, the European Commission president, was seeking to exercise Lady (then Mrs) Thatcher's nightmare vision of a "European super-state", he invoked it as the means to reconcile "what for many appears to be irreconcilable: the emergence of a united Europe and loyalty to one's homeland; the need for a European power capable of tackling the problems of our age and the absolute necessity to preserve our roots".

The history of the term should have made us suspicious from the start. For subsidiarity is an chameleon, changing its colour to suit the beholder. To the Vatican in 1920, it meant keeping Mussolini's fascist tentacles out of Italian education. For postwar Germany, the term helped provide a justification for a federal division of powers between Berlin and the *Land*.

Subsidiarity is really no more than shorthand for two plaudites as politics itself: that political authority should be exercised at the level most appropriate to the function in question; and that government of any kind should supplement, not replace, action by individuals and families.

Turning those maxims into a constitutional principle regulating the Community's authority was always bound to cause trouble.

It came at Maastricht. The formula agreed in Article 3b conflates a hotchpotch of vague and conflicting meanings. One sentence permits Brussels to do whatever is "necessary" to achieve any of the treaty's widely-drawn objectives (eg: "to promote economic and social progress"); another states that, in areas of shared competence, Community action will be tolerable only if a specific policy goal cannot be "sufficiently achieved" by member states. In the latter case, Brussels may act if it believes it can do better "by reason of the scale or effects of the proposed action".

Since the treaty does not demarcate areas of "exclusive" and "shared" powers, the scope of subsidiarity is left as unclear as its definition. Even if it were clear, there is no agreement on whether it is applicable at all in areas of exclusive competence, such as agriculture, where the treaties oblige the Community to act. The British government asserts that it is the Commission that it is not.



In the Maastricht treaty, 'the paragraph on subsidiarity is so bad that one is forced to assume it must be deliberate'

As Lord Mackenzie-Stuart, former president of the European Court, writes in a foreword to our study of the issue published today: "The paragraph on subsidiarity is a disgraceful piece of sloppy draftsmanship, so had that one is forced to assume it must be deliberate."

Deliberate or not, the ambiguity has enabled every Com-

pany to claim it for its own. Mr Major hails subsidiarity as a triumph for decentralisation, even a licence to reappropriate existing Community activities. The poorer states invoke it to support an extension of Community policies, often travelling under catchphrases such as "cohesion", which will enable them to obtain budgetary transfers - transfers they are clamouring to increase.

As for the Commission, its latest document on the subject asserts that "the subsidiarity

law, be "sufficiently achieved" by member states, or do the "scale or effects" justify intervention from Brussels? The judges may soon have to decide.

Despite this farce, Article 3b - and subsidiarity - are here to stay. Renergisation would be too dire a prospect for the EC's leaders to contemplate. So what is to be done?

For subsidiarity to have any chance of providing an effective basis on which to arbitrate between conflicting views of the Community interest, the minimum task for Edinburgh is to improve Article 3b in three ways: by defining it less ambiguously, by clarifying its scope (what it should apply to), and by giving it teeth with a "subsidiarity veto".

• Definition. The words

"scale or effects" need to be defined more closely. Commission initiatives should be limited to proposals on policies which, if left to member states, would have appreciable cross-border consequences, or to policies which can be shown to achieve significant overall economies of scale. To focus attention on this subsidiarity test, and provide a basis for adjudication by the Court should it be sought, the Commission should be required to justify its proposals in those terms, and the Council of Ministers should append a subsidiarity statement to all legislation it enacts.

• Scope. Subsidiarity, however defined, should apply to existing Community policies, and to action proposed within areas currently held to be the exclusive competence of the Community.

• Subsidiarity veto. Where

any two member states believe a proposed measure is incompatible with subsidiarity as defined above, they should be able to exercise a suspensory veto - that is, a power to refer for further consideration on grounds of subsidiarity any proposal for a period of up to two years.

"Strange fate for a word to have a use before a meaning," remarked Mr François-Xavier Ortoli, a former Commission president, recently. If subsidiarity does not acquire an agreed meaning soon, it will be of little use, and much danger, in the times of adversity already engulfing the EC.

• Subsidiarity: No Panacea, European Policy Forum, 20 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1H 9AA, £5.

Andrew Tyrie, a former adviser to John Major, now an economist at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, writes in a personal capacity

■ Whatever the contention over who is to be the 1992 European of the Year, there is no doubt about the EC's Word of the Year.

"Subsidiarity" wins by a landslide. A search of the FT database reveals that Britain's broadcast newspapers have so far employed the dread term 1,437 times since last December. That is quite an achievement, considering as the article above shows - there is as yet no officially agreed definition.

Filling the semantic gap will be one of the tasks for European Community eminences at the coming weekend's dialogue in Edinburgh. Any temptation to feel sorry for them should be resisted, however, because the EC leadership brought the task on itself with its communiqué on economic and monetary union following the June 1989 Madrid summit.

Before 1989 there had only ever been three references to the term - which means, broadly, taking decisions at the appropriate level. But although the Madrid conferees had the decency to put the word in tentative inverted commas, after them came the deluge of obscurity.

So it is right for their successors to have the job of clearing up the confusion. If all else fails, they might at least ban the term entirely from the Edinburgh summit's official emanations.

Meaningful dialogue

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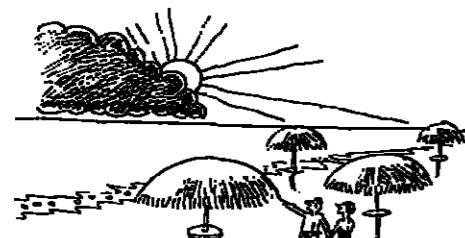
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INSIDE

**Ray of sunshine
for Club Med**



Club Méditerranée, one of the largest French leisure groups, returned to profit for last year following a recovery in its airline business. The group made net profits of FFr160m (S29m) in the year to October 31, against a loss of FFr17m in the previous year. Page 21

Concern over "going concern"

Auditors' reports in annual accounts are of little value in showing whether a company's survival is threatened, according to an academic study. There is little correlation between the incidence of the "going concern" doubts and corporate collapse, it says. Auditors often claim they are restrained from giving a qualification for fear that the company might collapse as a result. The report also suggests that auditors may not qualify the accounts for fear of losing their contract with the client. Page 20

Spanish backlash on KIO

Spanish newspapers have turned on Kuwait. They say the decision last Friday by the Kuwait Investment Office to place its Spanish holding company, Grupo Torras, into receivership was a betrayal of promises made by the new KIO management to the Spanish government. Page 21

Resignation at Generali

Mr Fabio Fegiz, one of three managing directors at Generali, the Italian insurance company, has resigned. The departure triggered speculation about differences of opinion among the company's top management. Page 21

Sugar down in the mouth

Mr Alan Sugar yesterday remained pessimistic about gaining the support of shareholders who appear strongly opposed to his proposal to take Amstrad private. Tomorrow is the deadline for proxy votes before the extraordinary meeting on Thursday. "The interesting thing is what happens to the share price tomorrow," Mr Sugar said. Page 20

Ready and waiting

Next Wednesday Mr Bill Clinton, US president-elect, is expected to name his economic team, with the aim of having legislation ready for enactment soon after he assumes power in the new year. Back Page

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**Forte to sell its
catering unit and
expand in Europe**

By Michael Skapinker, Leisure
Industries Correspondent

FORTE is this week expected to move closer to its aim of becoming a more internationally-based hotel and restaurant group with the sale of its Gardner Merchant catering division, the acquisition of a chain of French motorway restaurants and the conclusion of an agreement to run 18 hotels in Italy.

The sale of Gardner Merchant to a consortium led by CinVen, the UK's second largest venture capital investor, for £400m (\$623m) could be announced today or tomorrow. The Gardner Merchant management will have a small stake in the business.

An attempt by the Gardner Merchant management to acquire the business, backed by Kohlberg Kravis Roberts (KKR), the New York-based leveraged buy-out specialists, failed earlier this year, as did a takeover proposal by the Compass catering group.

CinVen approached Forte shortly after the breakdown of negotiations with Compass last July. CinVen, which has stakes in several Forte hotels, will not

be buying the group's airline catering interests.

Forte is also expected to announce that it is to pay £25m to £70m for more than 40 motorway restaurants in France. The restaurants were acquired by Accor, the French hotels to luncheon vouchers group, when it bought Wagons-Lits, the Belgian travel company, last year.

The European Commission instructed Accor to sell the restaurants last April because the group would have given the group too dominant a position.

The Wagons-Lits restaurants operate under the names of Relais, le Petit Café and Truck-store Café.

Forte is also likely to announce in the next few days that it has concluded an agreement to manage 18 hotels in Italy as part of a joint venture with Agip, the state-owned petrol company. The hotels are mostly at motorway junctions.

Forte will start building early next year the first in a network of 100 hotels and motorway restaurants in Spain in a deal with Repsol, the Spanish state-owned energy group.

**UB protests to SME
over crisp sell-off**

By Haig Simonian in Milan

ITALY'S fledgling privatisation programme has been hit by an unexpected spat over a state-owned potato crisp maker.

United Biscuits, the UK-based multinational, has written to SME, the government-owned foods group controlled by the IRI state holding company, expressing disappointment over the sale of Pai, a potato crisp and savoury snacks maker, to an Italian rival. Pai was sold for £30.2m (\$21.6m) last month to Unichips, the Italian family-owned concern.

According to Mr John Warren, UB's group finance director, the transaction has been "lacking transparency".

"We were contacted by Wasserstein Perella about a month ago," says Mr Warren. UB expressed immediate interest,

"But we were told our offer was just not good enough," he says.

On Friday night, SME said negotiations on the sale "took place according to a procedure guaranteeing all potential buyers the same level of information, and, therefore, the possibility to make offers on a totally equal basis".

Mr Warren cannot confirm that UB's bid beat the winning offer. The company responded by writing a "polite letter" in late November to SME and IRI expressing its disappointment with indicative offers. So far, it has not received a reply.

SMC, which is active in food production, retailing and catering, is one of Italy's prime privatisation candidates. Multinationals such as Nestlé and Ferruzzi have already shown interest in buying some of its activities.

The dispute over the sale of Pai could prove embarrassing to the new Italian government's privatisation plans. Mr Giuliano Amato, prime minister, has pinned his hopes on disposals as a source of income.

increases next year alone will be close to £20,000bn - double the present capacity.

In part the bourse bears blame for failing to modernise and for its lack of transparency that has created a strong odour of insider dealing.

However, the government has never provided incentives to encourage share ownership largely through fear of damaging the demand for state paper. To make risk investment in the stock market more attractive, the government is studying a number of measures.

First of these is to provide a package of fiscal incentives for share ownership.

Second is the development of pension funds (less than 9 per cent of pensions are paid into pension funds).

A third idea is to permit the exchange of state paper for shares in newly privatised companies.

A more controversial move, which the government has constantly denied contemplating, is that of raising the tax paid on Bots which account for nearly a third of state paper.

At a time when the government is seeking to raise fiscal revenues and create a more rational tax structure, the continued privileges of the Bot-peoples are an increasing anomaly.

Nevertheless, the howls of protest which have greeted suggestions in recent months that the government might tax Bots higher - or freeze interest payments - underline how sensitive the issue is.

Such a move might only be palatable if compensatory tax breaks were offered on share ownership. But this would mean Italians accepting the concept of greater risk with their savings, and it still leaves the treasury with the need to fund a huge deficit.

The resolution of this dilemma holds the key to Italy developing a fully fledged capital market.

Economics Notebook

By Robert Graham in Rome

cent in France, 1.7 per cent in Germany and 1.7 per cent in the UK.

This distortion in the direction of savings has mattered little until now. But with the Amato committee to a major programme of privatisation over the next three to four years, the distortion has been brought into focus.

The government is planning to raise almost £40,000bn (\$23.6bn) during this period through divestiture and partial sell-off of banks and industrial companies.

Foreign capital of necessity is expected to play a considerable part, but most will have to come from domestic sources at a time of recession and projected sluggish growth.

In tandem with financing (and hopefully reducing) the debt, the government has to encourage investors, especially the Bot-peoples, to switch their attention to the bourse.

Yet if the privatisation programme proceeds, the total value of new issues and capital

Alan Friedman on American Express's chief executive

A corporate titan forged from plastic



Jim Robinson: denies he is being pushed out of his job

Street perceive his record. Although he is credited by some as a man of vision, most analysts feel that in retrospect Mr Robinson presided over an ad hoc series of opportunistic acquisitions that ultimately produced an unwieldy conglomerate. Its costs and capacity proved excessive once the boom years of the 1980s were replaced by the austerity of the 1990s.

As for management, Mr Robinson broke with several top executives, including Mr Sandy Weill, who left as president in 1988 to take over as chairman of Primerica, the financial services group, and Mr Lou Gerstner, the talented president who left in 1991 to chair R.R. Nabisco. It was only in July 1991, after criticism from Wall Street that the president's post had been vacant for two years, that Mr Robinson named Mr Harvey Golub, his heir apparent, to the job.

The truth is that Mr Robinson has become increasingly embattled at American Express in recent months. There is only one other top US financial executive whose tenure has been the subject of as much speculation - Mr John Reed, the chairman of Citicorp who appears now to be fixing that bank's problems by bolstering capital and cutting overheads.

American Express has clearly been trying to change its culture, but few expect a speedy improvement in profitability. For the first nine months of 1992 net income was \$380m, down from \$511m in the same period of last year. Optima is not expected to return to the black before next year and competition in the card market has become tougher than ever.

"This is really another bill to be paid for the 1980s," said Mr Keefe, commenting on Mr Robinson's plans to resign next year as chief executive.

In a letter to American Express employees, Mr Robinson said yesterday he planned to spend more of his remaining time working on "the next phase" at Shearson Lehman with Mr Howard Clark, the former American Express chief financial officer, who was sent to Shearson as chairman in 1990.

Many think that American Express may eventually seek to divest itself of Shearson Lehman, although Mr Robinson said in his letter that the goal was to bring the subsidiary to the point where it could improve its credit rating with a strong capital base.

His letter to staff had the tone of a man looking backward, as he thanked the workforce "for the tremendous effort so many of you have made during the past year". Part of his personal objective, Mr Robinson wrote yesterday, "is to ensure a smooth passing of the leadership baton as we move ahead".

**Barclays to
offer new
form of
financing**

By Tracy Corrigan in London

BARCLAYS Bank will this week become the first European bank to provide companies with a new form of short-term financing which will allow them to build up their order books without borrowing directly from banks.

Perhaps the biggest problem Mr Robinson faced was that the American Express card used to be a high-priced product aimed at an affluent market. Now the card has lost much of its lustre and is facing stiff competition from banks and non-banks.

Yesterday Mr Robinson denied strongly that he was being pushed out of his job and insisted he had never wished to serve more than 15 years as chief executive. He said he was keen to continue working on the group's recovery plan. When asked to say how he wished his 18-year tenure to be remembered he said simply: "Total quality management."

Yesterday, in an interview with the FT, Mr Robinson conceded

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Auditors' reports of 'little value' says a recent study

Doubts on going concern message

By Andrew Jack

AUDITORS' reports in annual accounts are of little value in showing whether a company's survival is threatened, an academic study has found.

There is little correlation between the incidence of the 'going concern' doubts and Auditors' reports of 'little value' says a recent study corporate collapse, according to a paper by Mr David Citron and Professor Richard Taffler of the City University Business School in London.

Under existing guidelines, auditors are supposed to qualify the accounts of any companies over which they believe there are material factors

which could threaten its survival.

But Mr Citron said yesterday: "The going concern qualification survived, and the failure rate was no higher among these companies than those in which the accounts were not qualified.

The report does suggest that auditors may not qualify the accounts for fear of losing their contract with the client. Companies which were given a going concern qualification and survived were more likely to switch their audit firm.

Overall, small audit firms behaved no differently than the largest nine firms.

The findings are particularly relevant because the Auditing Practices Board earlier this year launched a discussion

per cent of companies given the going concern qualification survived, and the failure rate was no higher among these companies than those in which the accounts were not qualified.

The report does suggest that auditors may not qualify the accounts for fear of losing their contract with the client. Companies which were given a going concern qualification and survived were more likely to switch their audit firm.

The value of the audit report in the presence of going concern uncertainties: an empirical analysis. City University Business School, Frobisher Crescent, Barbican Centre, London EC2Y 8H

LBC owner hits new hitch over French sale

By David Buchan in Paris

CROWN Communications, the financially-troubled owner of LBC, the London-based radio station, has hit another hitch in its bid to sell some of its stake in RFM, its French commercial station.

The CSA, the French broadcasting authority, said it had still not received sufficient clarity on the bid by Mr Alain Ayache, owner of Le Meilleur magazine, and of Mr Jean-Paul Baudoux of the NRJ group for Crown's controlling stake.

It said it wanted further information on the proposed capital and nature of the bid before making a ruling.

RFM, after having an earlier bid turned down by the broadcasting authority, has since been joined in its endeavour by Mr Ayache.

But this has apparently not relieved the CSA's concern about undue concentration.

Crown has been seeking to raise money from the sale of its RFM stake, but recently entered negotiations with Dame Shirley Porter, the controversial Conservative politician, who is said to be interested in taking a stake in LBC.

Sun Alliance clears way to open Beijing office

By Richard Lapper

SUN ALLIANCE has obtained approval from the Chinese authorities to establish a representative office in Beijing.

This paves the way for it to eventually conduct direct business in one of the world's potentially biggest insurance markets.

The move follows the agreement earlier this year of a co-operation agreement with the People's Insurance Company of China and was in line with Sun Alliance's strategy of

Estates & General completes bank talks

Estates & General, property investor and developer, has completed formalities surrounding discussions with its bankers regarding continuing support to the company and enhancement in its working capital.

As part of the arrangements the directors and related parties were making an unsecured loan to the company of £250,000. Also, £389,000 of additional loan notes due as deferred and final consideration for the acquisition of Norman Reeves had been due and were being issued to NR shareholders.

CROSS BORDER M&A DEALS

BIDDER/INVESTOR	TARGET	SECTOR	VALUE	COMMENT
Camuzzi Gasometri (Italy)	Distribuidora de Gas Pampanga (Argentina)	Gas distribution	£152m	Consortium declared...
Camuzzi Gasometri (Italy)	Distribuidora de Gas del Sur (Argentina)	Gas distribution	£95m	...top bidders
Sideco Americana (Arg)/Italgas (Italy)	Distribuidora de Gas del Centro (Arg)	Gas distribution	£89m	Consortium declared...
Sideco Americana (Arg)/Italgas (Italy)	Distribuidora de Gas Cuyana (Arg)	Gas distribution	£79m	...top bidders
Tractebel (Belgium)/Berdrola (Spain)	Distribuidora de Gas del Litoral (Arg)	Gas distribution	£67m	Bid won with local partners
Beiersdorf (Germany)	Nivea (UK)	Toiletries	£46.5m	Smith & Nephew disposal
Columbian Chemicals (US)	Columbia Tizai Carbon (JV)	Carbon black	£35m	Manufacturing venture
WestLB/SüdWestLB (Germany)	Chartered WestLB (UK)	Banking	£26.3m	StanChart sells its half
UAP (France)	Nordstern Allgemeine (Germany)	Insurance	n/a	Winterthur sells its stake
GECapital (US)/UMW	Joint venture	Financial services	n/a	GE taking 49% stake

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Nature of business	
No. of employees	<input type="checkbox"/> under 50 <input type="checkbox"/> 50 to 100 <input type="checkbox"/> over 100
I already use online	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
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JOHN LEWIS

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COMPANIES AND FINANCE

Alan Sugar remains pessimistic over deal

By Richard Gourlay

MR ALAN Sugar yesterday remained pessimistic about gaining the support of shareholders who appear strongly opposed to his proposal to take Amstrad private.

With the approach of tomorrow's deadline for proxy votes, ahead of the extraordinary meeting on Thursday, Mr Sugar repeated the suggestion that shareholders should act.

Some of the 20,000 shareholders who had not voted but who expected a cheque in the post for their shares "might be in for a surprise," he said.

"The interesting thing is what happens to the share price tomorrow," Mr Sugar said last night.

Results of proxies received by Thursday evening suggesting Mr Sugar was losing his battle to take Amstrad private came on Friday after the market closed.

Amstrad shares closed unchanged on Friday at 28p, 2p below the price Mr Sugar is offering to buy the 65 per cent of Amstrad shares he does not already own.

Amstrad on Saturday ended its telephone campaign to persuade shareholders to send in proxy cards.

The campaign, which was

financed by Amstrad and policed by Amstrad's advisers, Kleinwort Benson, involved individual calls to thousands of Amstrad shareholders.

For the six months ending September 30 the USM-quoted Crossroads Oil Group incurred

NEWS DIGEST

Losses continue at Tex

DESPITE cost reduction measures, Tex Holdings, the maker and supplier of consumables to the plastic, steel and energy industries, announced pre-tax losses of £146,000 for the half year to September 30.

There were profits of £57,000 last time although for the year to March losses of £396,000 were reported.

Turnover declined from £2.3m to £7.9m.

Mr Richard Burrows, the chairman, said that sales and margins remained under pressure.

The directors have continued to reduce the group's cost base, he said, while at the same time taking initiatives to boost sales by increasing market share.

Losses per share emerged at 1.6p (0.4p earnings).

Tops Estates slips to £0.92m

Pre-tax profits of Tops Estates, the property investment group, declined by 22 per cent, from £1.34m to £918,000, in the six months to end-September.

The outcome was struck on rental income after outgoings down from £2.67m to £4.98m.

Earnings came out at 1.38p (1.32p) and the interim dividend is increased by 5 per cent to 0.575p (0.55p).

Crossroads Oil £107,000 in loss

For the six months ending September 30 the USM-quoted Crossroads Oil Group incurred

an unchanged operating loss of £80,112.

The after-tax loss emerged at £106,903. That compared with profits of £267,368 which included exceptional revenue of £377,142. Losses per share of 0.952p (0.925p) is being paid.

Wiltshire Brewery reduces losses

Wiltshire Brewery has agreed to buy 24 public houses from Tetley Walker for a cash consideration of £5m.

Cheshire-based Burtonwood was confident that the contribution from about 9,000 extra barrels would improve the utilisation of brewery capacity and thus increase its profitability.

Wiltshire reported a reduced pre-tax loss for the six months to May 31 down from £234,851 to £283,607 on sales doubled to £1.33m.

Wiltshire's tenanted estate grew from 26 to 49 during the period and has expanded further to 78 as a result of the restructuring.

That compared with previous profits of £422,000 and was scored after taking account of a swing from interest receivable of £142,000 to charges of £385,000.

Turnover improved by 22 per cent to £4.48m. Losses per share of 0.9p compared with earnings of 2.7p.

The interim dividend is again being passed.

Gartmore Value revenue rises

Net asset value per share fell over the six months to October 31 from 27.4p to 16.8p at Gartmore Value Investments.

However, the figure per zero dividend preference share improved from 72.1p to 76.7p.

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Wiltshire reported a reduced pre-tax loss for the six months to May 31 down from £234,85

COMPANIES AND FINANCE

Airline recovery helps Club Med back into black

By Alice Rawsthorn in Paris

CLUB Méditerranée, one of the largest French leisure groups, returned to profit last year following a recovery in its airline business.

The group, which has been expanding its cruise ship interests but is still best known for its holiday villages, made net profits of FF116m (\$29.5m) in the year to October 31, against a loss of FF17m in the previous year.

It also managed to prevent the recurrence of the exceptional losses on its airline activities that hit the previous year's total.

During that year Club Med, in common with other holiday companies, was badly affected by the impact of the Gulf war on international travel.

The group said its winter trading had so far been relatively stable compared with that of last year and there had been an improvement in the performance of its US and Asian businesses.

Club Med is in the throes of a renovation and expansion programme and this summer launched a FF1bn bond issue to finance its plans.

Management shake-up for Dow Chemical

By Alan Friedman
In New York

DOW CHEMICAL, the second biggest US chemicals group, has unveiled reorganisation aimed at creating a more flexible management structure to improve international competitiveness.

The company, which suffered a 35 per cent decline in third-quarter net income to \$145m, called the reorganisation a streamlining.

At the heart of the changes is a new division of management responsibilities for Mr Frank Popoff, the chairman, and Mr William Stavropoulos, who becomes president and chief operating officer next April.

Mr Popoff will be responsible for all Dow divisions as well as the Marion Merrell Dow pharmaceuticals subsidiary. Mr Stavropoulos will be responsible for three core global businesses.

Business against the French franc. Club Med yesterday attributed its return to profits in 1991-92 to reasonably stable activity during the financial year.

It also managed to prevent the recurrence of the exceptional losses on its airline activities that hit the previous year's total.

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Club Med is in the throes of a renovation and expansion programme and this summer launched a FF1bn bond issue to finance its plans.

Leading executive at Generali resigns

By Helga Simonian in Milan

MR Fabio Fegitz, one of Generali's three managing directors, has resigned from the Italian insurance company. The surprise departure, for "personal reasons", immediately triggered speculation about differences of opinion among top management at Italy's biggest insurer.

Mr Fegitz had previously headed the company's London operations for 27 years.

But some observers maintained his resignation owed more to the difficulties of re-establishing himself at a highly bureaucratic head office in Trieste than a clash over strategy.

The company forecast an unchanged loss in its non-life underwriting activities this year, based on figures for the first nine months, while earnings from life insurance were set to rise. In 1991, Generali lost L12.8bn (\$20.5m) in non-life underwriting and made L49.4bn on the life side.

It gave no absolute figures for its nine-months results in either life or non-life business.

However, it said the claims ratio on its Italian non-life business had started to improve after years of steady decline. The company attributed the change to better market conditions and more careful selection of risks.

The company, which last year made net earnings of L563.5bn, made no 1992 profits forecast. But it said this year's earnings would be swollen by exchange rate factors, whereas new Italian tax measures would have a negative effect.

Group premiums in the first nine months rose by 26.2 per cent to L11.330bn from L8.86bn at the end of September last year. Adjusted for exchange rates, overall premiums climbed by 13.2 per cent, with a 15.6 per cent rise in life insurance and a 11 per cent increase on the non-life side.

Although investment income jumped by 29 per cent in the first nine months, Generali warned that profits from trading would be "satisfactory" but below last year's level.

Grupo Torras move sparks bitter criticism

KIO's departure from Spain may lead to a political witch hunt, writes Peter Bruce

THE DECISION last Friday by the Kuwait Investment Office to place its Spanish holding company, Grupo Torras, into receivership has sparked fierce criticism of the KIO in Spain and threatens to open an unprecedented political witch hunt in Kuwait.

Influential Spanish newspapers turned on Kuwait this weekend, saying the Torras receivership was a betrayal of promises made by the new KIO management to the Spanish government.

In Kuwait, critics of the ruling al-Sabah family, closely identified with the former management of the KIO and Torras, called for the assets of people involved with Torras to be frozen.

An opposition newspaper in the emirate called the affair "the theft of the century".

The KIO's departure from Spain was colourful. Mr Mahmoud al-Nouri, who has run Torras since June, trooped into a press conference with a string of legal advisers in tow.

One read out the results of an investigation into the past management of the KIO's six-year investment spree in Spain. These were a \$2bn loss on share trades, a \$700m loss on share support schemes and a \$600m loss on short-term financing.

Another, hired to frame charges against the former Torras management, said he was still not sure who would be charged, what the charges would be and when they would be brought.

Mr al-Nouri said Torras was in a much worse state than originally believed, that the KIO had lost \$4bn in Spain (adding \$700m to the lawyer's estimates), and that it had no choice but to call in the receivers.

In fact, the KIO has known for months what state Torras was in. But after nearly six months of alleging misappropriation by former managers, particularly Mr Javier de la Rosa, the financier who ran the KIO's investments in Spain until last June, the KIO was facing a sticky problem.

At some stage the KIO would have to take some responsibility for the Torras businesses not already driven into receivership or cut off from funding since June.

By getting out now, it could still explain the receivership away as a consequence of past betrayals.

But the Spanish press, which only affects Torras and not its surviving industrial affiliates, these companies are now vulnerable – particularly Spain's biggest paper-maker, Torras.

In September the KIO promised to inject \$400m into the

governments of the new management... have ceased to interest the public and cannot be used to justify the clumsiness and lack of management of the new leadership [of Torras]," it said.

Among daily newspapers, El Mundo called the receivership a "state fraud" and said the move threatened 100,000 Spanish jobs, directly and indirectly.

Former Spanish and KIO managers could implicate members of Kuwait's ruling al-Sabah family in the Torras debacle.

The public campaign against de la Rosa has hurt all the companies, even the good ones," commented one independent corporate analyst in Madrid. "There is no goodwill left."

What Friday's departure does leave behind are questions. Last December one KIO auditor, KPMG Peat Marwick, valued Torras' assets at \$1.5bn, saying they had cost \$4.4bn. For the KIO to say it has lost all \$4.4bn is to imply, improbably, that \$2.9bn has vanished in the past year alone, the last half of it under new management.

And Peat Marwick warned

that a "forced sale [of its assets] in the current European recessionary climate could result in a significant loss of the investment made by the KIO to date."

The Kuwaitis appear to have

decided to take the loss anyway, as the price, at least, of a quick repudiation against de la Rosa and former KIO managers did not set it that way.

Expansion, a business daily, called on Madrid to protest to the Kuwaiti government. "The sorry witch hunt and the alle-

advocates that they make a legal case in Spain that sticks.

But even an unsuccessful prosecution is likely to open a political Pandora's box inside Kuwait.

Former Spanish and KIO managers could implicate members of the al-Sabah family in the Torras debacle.

Already forced to devolve more political power, the Emir now faces constant pressure for greater transparency in the management of Kuwait's finances.

"The secrecy which has surrounded [the Spanish investments] was a big mistake. The people must know," Mr Jassim al-Saoudan, an adviser to the new Kuwaiti parliament, said at the weekend.

"The time has come to punish those who abused public money and to freeze their money while the judicial authorities have investigated this tragedy," said Mr Abdul Jalil al-Gharabali, a former consultant to the Kuwaiti central bank.

The political prize in Kuwait is control of its oil revenues. So far this has been the reserve of some of the al-Sabahs, but Kuwait is changing fast.

Mixing the KIO's Spanish adventure into Kuwait's free post-war politics could stir up a hornet's nest.

Cornelissen quits Royal Trustco directorship

By Robert Gibbons
in Montreal

MR MICHAEL Cornelissen, who headed Royal Trustco for 10 years during its international expansion, has resigned as a director and will not become vice-chairman.

Royal Trustco is Canada's second-biggest trust company and a key member of the Edger group controlled by the Toronto Bronfman family. It

reported a third-quarter loss of C\$243m (US\$190m) after write-downs on North American and UK property investments, and has sold its US affiliate Pacific First Financial.

Mr Cornelissen stepped down as chief executive in September, after 10 years during which the KIO's international expansion had been driven by him.

Mr Hartland MacDougall, chairman, said: "Mr Cornelissen thought it best for personal reasons to sever all ties."

• Laurentian Bank, controlled by the Laurentian financial services group, reported profits for the year ended August 31 of C\$38.7m, up 13 per cent from the previous year.

US-UK joint venture in new TV technology

By Ian Rodger in Basile

SANDOZ, the Swiss pharmaceutical and chemicals group, is to contribute at least \$300m to a oncology research institute at the Dana-Farber Cancer Institute in Boston and invested \$30m in a 60 per cent stake in Stemix, a California biotechnology company.

Sandoz will begin contributing to Stemix Research Institute gradually, as joint research projects are agreed over the next four years.

Mr Marc Moret, chairman of Sandoz, said the agreement would enable Sandoz to lift basic research capability by about a quarter.

internal laboratories in Basile to external alliances.

Last year, Sandoz committed itself to spending up to \$100m over 10 years in oncology research at the Dana-Farber Cancer Institute in Boston and invested \$30m in a 60 per cent stake in Stemix, a California biotechnology company.

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Notice is hereby given that the ninety-seventh annual general meeting of Rand Mines Limited will be held in the board room, First Floor, Randcall House, 21 Chapel Road, Illovo, Johannesburg, on Tuesday, 12 January 1993 at 11:00 for the following business:

1. To receive the audited annual financial statements and Group annual financial statements in respect of the year ended 30 September 1992.

2. To elect directors in accordance with the provisions of the company's articles of association.

3. To place the unissued shares under the control of the directors in terms of the provisions of the Companies Act, 1973, as amended.

For the purpose of determining those members entitled to attend and vote at the meeting, the register of members of the company will be closed from 4 to 12 January 1993, both days inclusive.

A member entitled to attend and vote at the meeting may appoint one or more proxies to attend, vote, speak and act in his stead. A proxy need not be a member of the company. If required, forms of proxy are available from the transfer secretaries in Johannesburg and the United Kingdom registrar and paying agents.

Attention is drawn to the fact that, if it is to be effective, a completed proxy form must reach the transfer secretaries in Johannesburg or the United Kingdom registrar, transfer and paying agents at least 48 hours before the time appointed for the holding of the meeting.

The holder of a share warrant to bearer who desires to be represented at the meeting must produce his share warrant or a certificate of his holding from a banker or other approved person at the bearer transfer office of the United Kingdom registrar, transfer and paying agents at least five days before the date appointed for the holding of the meeting and shall otherwise comply with the "Conditions governing share warrants" currently in force. Thereupon, an attendance form or a proxy form under which such a warrant holder may be represented at the meeting will be issued.

By order of the board

RAND MINES (LIMTED) ("Rand Mines")
(Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa)
(Registration No. 01/00556/00)

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Notice is hereby given that the ninety-seventh annual general meeting of Rand Mines Limited will be held in the board room, First Floor, Randcall House, 21 Chapel Road, Illovo, Johannesburg, on Tuesday, 12 January 1993 at 11:00 for the following business:

1. To receive the audited annual financial statements and Group annual financial statements in respect of the year ended 30 September 1992.

2. To elect directors in accordance with the provisions of the company's articles of association.

3. To place the unissued shares under the control of the directors in terms of the provisions of the Companies Act, 1973, as amended.

For the purpose of determining those members entitled to attend and vote at the meeting, the register of members of the company will be closed from 4 to 12 January 1993, both days inclusive.

A member entitled to attend and vote at the meeting may appoint one or more proxies to attend, vote, speak and act in his stead. A proxy need not be a member of the company. If required, forms of proxy are available from the transfer secretaries in Johannesburg and the United Kingdom registrar and paying agents.

Attention is drawn to the fact that, if it is to be effective, a completed proxy form must reach the transfer secretaries in Johannesburg or the United Kingdom registrar, transfer and paying agents at least 48 hours before the time appointed for the holding of the meeting.

The holder of a share warrant to bearer who desires to be represented at the meeting must produce his share warrant or a certificate of his holding from a banker or other approved person at the bearer transfer office of the United Kingdom registrar, transfer and paying agents at least five days before the date appointed for the holding of the meeting and shall otherwise comply with the "Conditions governing share warrants" currently in force. Thereupon, an attendance form or a proxy form under which such a warrant holder may be represented at the meeting will be issued.

By order of the board

RAND MINES (LIMTED) ("Rand Mines")
Secretary: per F. O. W. PEACHEY
18th Floor
30 November 1992
10th Corner House 40 Notting Hill Gate
London W8 7AA
Note:

The 1992 annual report is being passed to registered shareholders and copies are available from holders of share warrants to bearers from the London Secretaries.

Bank of Greece

US \$60,000,000

Floating Rate Notes due 1998

Notice is hereby given that, in accordance with the provisions of the above mentioned Floating Rate Notes, the rate of interest for the six months period from December 7, 1992 to June 7, 1993 has been fixed at 4.525% per annum.

The interest payable on June 7, 1993 will be US \$2,877.64 in respect of each US \$100,000 Note.

For further information, call 010 972 3 50 6193 or 010 972 3 540 7616

Wardley Limited
Agent Bank

Union Bank of Switzerland
London Branch Agent Bank

2nd December, 1992

Bank of Greece

US \$60,000,000

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INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL MARKETS

UK GILTS

Conflicting signals cloud outlook

INVESTORS are in a confused mood as a result of conflicting signals about the outlook for bonds.

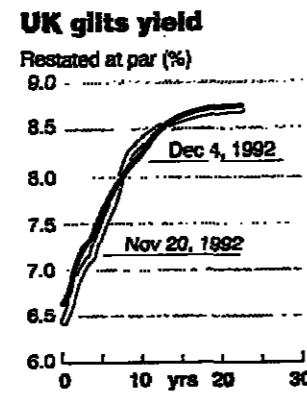
Gilts closed on Friday on a high note, shrugging off the downturn in prices at the start of the week and the slightly disappointing outcome to the auction last Wednesday of \$2.5bn of securities from the Bank of England.

However, the stronger pound helped spark buying pressure for gilts and bonds finished on Friday largely unchanged on the previous week.

Over the past two weeks short-dated gilts have seen a moderate rise in yields and fall in prices, as expectations about further cuts in base rates have eased. That has fitted in with generally more bullish sentiment about a weak recovery in the UK next year, as reflected by a strong tone recently on the London stock market.

It is generally reckoned that the government is unlikely to want to sanction further cuts in base rates, now 7 per cent, before early next year.

The auction last Wednesday of 8 per cent bonds due in 2003



to sell a large volume of securities to pay for Britain's burgeoning public sector borrowing requirement.

Mr John Sheppard, an economist at S.G. Warburg Securities, said overseas support for the auction was "fairly close to negligible".

He said this was not a good sign, bearing in mind the Bank would have to try to sell large volumes of securities to non-UK institutions in the 1993-94 financial year when the Treasury expects the PSBR to be around £44bn, after a projected £37bn in 1992-93.

"Britain will almost certainly need large purchases of gilts by foreigners over the next two years; it would be wrong to think that domestic institutions will be in a position to buy all the gilts that will be on offer," said Mr Sheppard.

Demand for gilts during the week, however, was boosted by the strong gains made by the pound against a D-Mark weak-ended by growing indications about a German economic slowdown.

On Friday, sterling finished in London more than 1 pfenning

stronger on the day against the D-Mark at DM2.875. That represented a gain of slightly more than 7 pfenning on the week and was its highest closing level since mid-October.

Some of the strength in the UK currency was due to indications that a fragile recovery may be about to start, a development which might have been expected to reduce demand for gilts on the grounds that inflationary pressures could be expected to increase.

But according to Mr Ian Blance, an economist at Nikko Securities in London, gilt investors are, if anything, hoping that a recovery will start relatively soon.

That is on the grounds that an upturn, even a modest one, will reduce the strains on the PSBR resulting from large increases in unemployment pay and a reduced tax take. As a result, an economic recovery could remove some of the strains on the gilt market arising from expectations of large volumes of price-depressing gilt issues.

Peter Marsh

US MONEY AND CREDIT

Market rallies on signs of recovery

CONVENTIONAL bond market psychology was stood on its head on Friday, when the benchmark 30-year Treasury issue staged a powerful rally on the back of a series of encouraging macro-economic statistics that appeared to signal a strengthening of the US recovery.

Normally, investors in the bond market take flight when the economy looks better, on the grounds that good news means the Federal Reserve is less likely to make further cuts in interest rates.

But last Friday's jobs data - showing the US unemployment rate for November down from 7.4 per cent to 7.2 per cent - caused a rise in the price of the 30-year Treasury bond, with bond investors apparently as enthusiastic as their counterparts in the equity market.

The yield on 30-year paper declined from 7.55 per cent to 7.48 per cent on Friday.

The bond market's unusual

reaction to the jobs data, which followed other encouraging signs, can be explained in part as a function of investor expectations about the likely fiscal measures planned by the incoming administration.

The logic of bond investors was that if the economy's recovery is shown to be more buoyant than was thought to be the case, then President

Investors believe that if the upturn proves stronger than previously thought, President Clinton might trim his plans to stimulate the economy

Clinton might reduce the size of his job-creation and other spending measures aimed at stimulating the economy.

A more modest package of fiscal stimuli would appeal to investors concerned that too much new spending would worsen the deficit and have a broadly inflationary impact.

That in turn could require

Yet sceptics abound. Salomon Brothers, for example, noted that the new jobs data confirmed the US economy was "ending its long flirtation with recession," though the investment bank reckoned that the signs of recovery were still insufficient to convince fiscal policy makers to abandon plans for fresh stimulus.

This week's economic data will include the release of November producer price numbers on Thursday, with a 0.1 per cent rise forecast by many, and consumer price figures for last month on Friday, with a consensus forecast of a 0.2 per cent increase.

Mr Phillip Braverman, chief economist at DKB Securities in New York, was even more bearish.

"The strength of recent economic reports is largely explained away by special factors. The economy remains stagnant, requiring fiscal stimulus and Fed easing."

Salomon summed up its cautious view by saying that while "the US job engine has shifted from reverse to forward, it remains in first gear," while analysts at Donaldson, Lufkin and Jenrette termed the fledgling economic improvement "far from robust."

Mr Phillip Braverman, chief economist at DKB Securities in New York, was even more bearish.

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INTERNATIONAL BONDS

Bank tries to boost prospects for UK securitisation

SECURITISATION, touted as the latest growth market in Europe for the past few years, has so far failed to live up to high expectations.

The largest market in Europe, the UK mortgage-backed market, totals around \$2bn, or 3 per cent of total mortgage loans outstanding. It is dwarfed by the massive \$1,000bn US mortgage-backed sector, which accounts for 40 per cent of all residential mortgage debt, according to Bank of England figures.

The prospects for securitisation in the US have recently had two boosts. Last week, the Bank of England rescinded its plans to increase the risk weighting of mortgage-backed securities from 50 per cent to 100 per cent, effective January 1, 1993.

The threat of a 100 per cent risk weighting had driven many banks, a mainstay of the market's investor base, away from the market.

In November, the Accounting Standards Board, the UK accounting regulators, gave in to pressure to change proposed rules that could have stopped banks and companies from securitising assets.

The ASB proposed last year that all securitised assets — where a bank or other entity passes assets

to a special purpose vehicle, which then issues bonds against them — should remain on the originator's balance sheet, thus removing a significant attraction of such arrangements.

While still requiring companies to record assets, the new system allows them to express a net asset figure reflecting only the residual risk left with the company from a securitisation.

These two changes are not, however, enough to kick-start the market. In the US, large size and homogeneity of asset pools facilitates securitisation. Pools of receivables in Europe are generally much smaller and more diverse.

Securitisation is designed to allow banks and companies to remove assets from their balance sheets and repackag them as bonds which are then sold to investors.

The theory is that the current squeeze on bank capital and the lack of bank financing available for companies will encourage both to take this route. But the process of securitisation is often prohibitively expensive, or is only viable if a company or bank has large amounts of assets to securitise.

The latest trend for securitisation

involves assembling different receivables in a single pool.

"A number of companies do not fit the pattern for a single origination programme: £20m is a lot of funding to raise in the current market, but not enough to justify its own programme," said Mr Bruce Geckell, an executive director in charge of securitisation at UBS Phillips & Drew.

The solution: your bank sets up a vehicle which funds your trade receivables by issuing asset-backed commercial paper. This technique can be used to fund other assets, such as leases.

As well as a Barclays special-purpose company — called Sceptre (Securitisation conduit for the enhancement and purchase of trade receivables across Europe) — other banks involved include Deutsche Bank, Westdeutsche Landesbank and Warburg, and UBS Phillips & Drew.

The US asset-backed commercial paper market has expanded rapidly, on the back of a huge and mature commercial paper market.

For the moment, issuance of commercial paper backed by European receivables may well be concentrated in the larger market. The Mortgage Corporation and

European CP markets are still highly regulated, restricting issuance, and the European investor base for these products is not yet well developed.

Meanwhile, bank regulators in Europe will be watching developments. In the US, the Federal Reserve has come down on the banks which were providing the liquidity guarantees for these programmes.

They were concerned these liquidity guarantees created substantial credit risk for the banks and asked banks to set more capital aside against them.

Since then, many programmes have been restructured so that, for example, specialist insurance replaces liquidity guarantees.

As for the rest of the market, there are signs of life. UBS is believed to be preparing a \$180m five-year issue of floating rate notes backed by Leyland-Daf leases and dealer finance plans. The issue, called Truck Funding, will have an average life of 3½ years.

But the mortgage-backed market, despite the Bank of England move, is still in hold.

The Centralised lenders such as The Mortgage Corporation and

RISK AND REWARD

Ignorance and other failures of the regulators



National Home Loans, which were once the mainstay of the market, are no longer churning out deals — or mortgages, for that matter.

However, the building societies are looking more closely at securitisation. Although they are originating few mortgages, the decline of retail funds, as investors shift funds into higher-yielding investments, is creating potential funding difficulties.

A number of societies are close to the 40 per cent ceiling of public debt funding permitted under the Building Societies Act. Some have already set up auxiliary mortgage companies, a process required of building societies if they wish to tap the market.

Although only a handful of building societies are likely to issue next year, once the process has begun, others are expected to follow suit.

Several UK clearing banks, including Barclays and Midland, are already well advanced in their preparatory work for mortgage securitisation, and may bring deals next year. Barclays is also considering securitisation of consumer loans and credit card receivables.

Tracy Corrigan

BACK in January, when Mr Gerald Corrigan, head of the Federal Reserve, warned of the unseen risks lurking in the derivatives markets, it seemed a bomb had been put under the banking industry.

With external scrutiny focused on the markets, surely it would be only a matter of time before all the weak ones in the international regulatory armoury were wheeled out. Fierce capital adequacy standards, strict oversight of market operations and assured other intrusions would surely follow.

Nearly a year on, things look rather different. True, a batch of reports is still awaited, including those from the US General Accounting Office and GAO, the banking industry's international think-tank. These may toe the Corrigan line. So far, though, it is the regulators themselves who have come out worse from the scrutiny of these new financial markets.

No wonder regulators have been making a song and dance about the derivatives industry this year. It may well be that some senior bankers do not understand the new risks they are exposed to — but the supervisors are no better off.

It was, therefore, unusual to hear a director of the Bank of England expressing an unfashionable view last week. Mr Pen Kent — admittedly not responsible for banking supervision himself — expressed only mild caution about the new risks banks are running. "We should not be complacent, but nor should we necessarily be alarmist either," he told a conference in London. There would be "huge risks in the cash markets which we would all face if we had no hedging mechanism to spread them and share them," he said.

There are plenty of other failures which help to explain regulators' nervousness about derivatives.

One is the division of responsibility, which has left the impression that no one is in a position to assess the full risks accruing in the financial system.

The US is the best example. The Federal Reserve, the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Commodities Futures Trading Commission all have an interest in the subject. The division between the CFTC and the SEC is reaffirmed in

the Re-authorisation Bill which is due to be confirmed before the present administration stands down.

The SEC meanwhile, feels at a loss because the firms it regulates are busy setting up unregulated subsidiaries for derivatives business. In fairness, the politicians are as much to blame for this state of affairs as the regulators.

The fragmentation is echoed elsewhere. The European Community, for instance, has a raft of directives which have a bearing on the market. Mr Alex Merriman, an EC official, says there are plans to amalgamate some of these rules into simpler, unified directives — but no plans as yet to examine the gaps between the directives or to bring forward new regulations specifically aimed at the new markets.

The regulators are also woefully short of data on what is happening in many over-the-counter markets. How can you predict the knock-on effect of a crisis in one financial market when you do not know the scale of trading or its relationship with other markets?

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Not that he does not share some of the concerns of other observers. Some banks are writing 30-year options, he says; how can they price such instruments to reflect the true risks they are running?

But the regulators have a long way to go before they can take the derivatives specialists to task.

Richard Waters

Fortis reports higher profit

Key figures Fortis first three quarters 1992

(In ECU million)	1992	1991	% increase
Total revenues	6,523	5,316	+ 23
Operating result	280	259	+ 8
Profit	304	275	+ 10
30-09-1992	31-12-1991		
Equity	3,464	3,242	

1 ECU=0.78 Sterling

Key figures N.V. AMEV first three quarters 1992

(In NLG)	1992	1991	% increase
Earnings per share	5.61	5.29	+ 6
Share price on 30 September	57.90	46.70	
Price/earnings ratio	10.3	8.8	
30-09-1992	31-12-1991		
Equity per share	68.89	67.67	

1 NLG=0.35 Sterling

Adjusted

Prospects
Fortis stands by its forecast for the full year of a slightly higher net profit. Though the operating result is expected to advance less than originally anticipated, Fortis expects to realize higher capital gains. On the basis of these prospects, the Executive Board of N.V. AMEV expects earnings per AMEV share in 1992 to at least equal the 1991 figure.

Fortis: a united force in financial services
Fortis is an international insurance and banking group. Fortis' activities are widely spread, both geographically and in terms of products. Since its creation in December 1990, the group has implemented its strategy resolutely, actively exploiting new opportunities. N.V. AMEV is one of the two parent companies of Fortis.

We will be happy to send you a copy of the first three quarters report 1992.

Fortis Public Relations
Archimedelaan 10, 3564 BA Utrecht
The Netherlands
Telephone: +31 (0)30 573836
Fax: +31 (0)30 522394

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ECU, DEM, GBP, ITL

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The Government Debt Specialist

Our quotations for French Government Securities are available on Reuters screen pages LDCO (FATB), LDCP (BTAN), LDCQ (BTAN), LDCR (BTF).

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fortis

N.V. AMEV and AG Group
are the two parent companies of Fortis

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- Unit Trust prices are available from FT Cityline, call 0891 43 + the five-digit code listed after the unit trusts. Calls charged at 36p/minute cheap rate and 48p/minute at all other times.

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• Unit Trust prices are available from FT Cityline, call 0891 43 + the five-digit code listed after the unit trusts. Calls charged at 38p/minute cheap rate and 48p/minute at all other times.

NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE COMPOSITE PRICES

Samsung Notebook PC: Notemaster 386 S/25



AMD 80386SX-25MHz Microprocessor
Removable 2.5" HDD

SAMSUNG
Electronics
Technology that works for life.

NYSE COMPOSITE PRICE

NASDAQ NATIONAL MARKET

4 pm close December 4

Continued from previous page

1992	Yld. %	Pt. Stk	Crude	Crude Prc.	1992	Yld. %	Pt. Stk	Crude	Crude Prc.
High Low Stock	Div. %	E 1000	High	Low/Clos Crude	High Low Stock	Div. %	E 1000	High	Low/Clos Crude
145 19 Salomon Br	0.00	7.3	821	125	151	0.00	4.2	181000	5.66 181800
364 20 Salomon	0.04	17.1	519	375	375	0.00	4.2	171000	5.72 171000
75 21 Salop Int'l	0.00	1.3	825	225	225	0.00	4.2	171000	5.78 171000
93 22 Santander	0.00	1.3	825	225	225	0.00	4.2	171000	5.78 171000
364 23 Santafeliz	0.16	7.0	717	175	175	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
61 24 Santander	0.00	1.3	825	225	225	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
61 25 San Lee	0.18	1.8	231250	150	150	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
444 26 Saner Corp	0.00	0.8	131000	300	300	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
474 27 Saner Corp	0.00	0.8	131000	300	300	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
60 28 Saner Corp	0.00	0.8	131000	300	300	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
60 29 Saner Corp	0.00	0.8	131000	300	300	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
705 30 ScheringPf	0.66	2.3	178200	600	600	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
104 31 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 32 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 33 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 34 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 35 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 36 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 37 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 38 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 39 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 40 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 41 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 42 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 43 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
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97 52 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 53 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 54 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 55 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
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97 57 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 58 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 59 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 60 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
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97 63 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
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97 68 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 69 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 70 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 71 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 72 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 73 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 74 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 75 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 76 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 77 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 78 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 79 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 80 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 81 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 82 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 83 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 84 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200	200	0.00	4.2	171000	5.84 171000
97 85 ScheringPf	0.00	0.9	141000	200					

MONDAY INTERVIEW

Managing director at the Yard

Paul Condon, the incoming Metropolitan Police commissioner, speaks to Alan Pike

The new Metropolitan Police commissioner began his career as a constable on the beat in London's east end, where Dixon of Dock Green, that most nostalgic of television series, was set.

"I was never Dixon of Dock Green," he confesses. "We may not like to admit it, but he was just part of the mythology of 1950s and 1960s Britain."

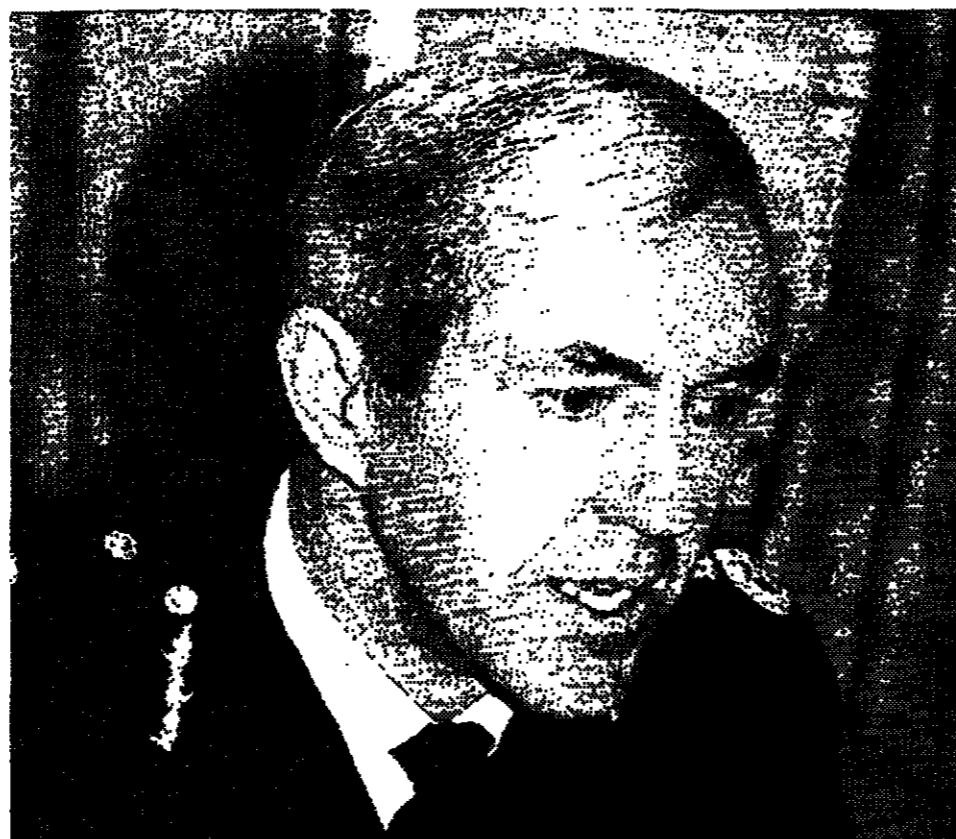
Indeed, many realities of contemporary police life, both good and ill, were excluded from Dixon's world. His notebooks were never subjected to scientific analysis to see whether he had falsified evidence. Rioters on neglected housing estates did not fire-bomb him simply because he was a symbol of authority. Terrorism was not a daily feature of police work in his London.

But what concerns Paul Condon who takes over the most high-profile post in British policing in February, is the lingering impression that Dixon and his amiable pals at Dock Green police station could solve every crime, catch all the baddies and effortlessly keep the peace. The real police of Dixon's era never managed to do all that, and they cannot today. In Condon London is about to gain a police chief who will be very frank about that reality.

"The notion that a small number of police officers in the community can prevent crime is nonsense. I am not trying to sound complacent. What I am saying is that we must be absolutely clear about how we use our resources, and share with the public what we can do and how they can help."

Condon takes over at a particularly challenging time. The terrorist threat is again rife throughout mainland Britain, as the switch last week of the bombing campaign from London to Manchester showed. There is a recognised need for the police service to repair its image after a series of miscarriages of justice. Both the Royal Commission on Criminal Justice and the Sheeby inquiry into police pay and structure are due to report next year. These could lead to wide-ranging changes, from the way the police interviews suspects to the service's career structure.

Commissioners find themselves promoted into the role of national spokesmen for the police service on such issues, as well as having to run the Metropolitan force. And Condon is not only going to run



I feel an obligation to rebuild our image'

Kent police as the business and himself as its chief executive rather than chief constable.

"When I go to the Met I shall have an organisation of 44,000 people and a budget of £1.5bn. The disciplines involved in running a police force are not dissimilar to those of the private sector," Condon says.

He has engineered a three-stage managerial revolution during his three years at Kent. Stage one was to identify what he describes as the force's core

PERSONAL FILE

1947 Born in Dorset.

1967 Joins Metropolitan Police.

1972-75 St Peter's College, Oxford. Bachelor's and Master's degrees in jurisprudence.

1984 Assistant chief constable, Kent.

1987 Deputy assistant commissioner, Metropolitan Police.

1989 Chief constable of Kent.

1992 Appointed Metropolitan Police commissioner.

business. Opinion surveys of the customers – the public – showed people wanted a fast emergency response; visible "bobbies-on-the-beat" policing and compassionate treatment for victims of crime and other misfortunes.

Stage two was to organise the force to deliver these core objectives, while stage three consists of rigorous monitoring to ensure that standards are being met. A team of headquarters staff spends all day telephoning victims of crime and other police customers, asking if they were satisfied with the service they received.

Condon's stage two is the cause of apprehension among some of his future colleagues at Scotland Yard. Kent's reformed delivery system is based on the devolution of all possible decision-making functions to local police stations.

In spite of the bad publicity the police service has received

People who run Kent stations, he says proudly, have more freedom than some chief constables. This was achieved, however, by eliminating an entire tier of divisional middle-management and through the early retirement of senior officers at chief superintendent level. "To take out a whole divisional command structure of very loyal colleagues who have given all their careers to policing, and to change the ground rules around them, is a painful process. Fortunately, the people involved saw why we were trying to change and were supportive."

Kent and the Met are not interchangeable forces however. The latter has semi-national responsibilities including the fight against terrorism and protection of the royal family and VIPs that require central co-ordination. But there is no doubt Condon will repeat his experiment in the devolution of responsibility for basic policing in London, and equally no doubt that the Met's command structure of high-ranking officers is in line for thinning out.

Colleagues say Condon, an opera lover and sports enthusiast who is married with three children, is a relatively private man. He recognises that the high media profile and public image of the commissioner's post will intrude on his family life, and acknowledges that there may be worse to come.

"I really mean this – I would not have felt a failure if I had ended my career without being Metropolitan Police commissioner. Having been given the enormous challenge of taking it on, I will do the job to my very best ability. In doing that, I know it will make me vulnerable to personal criticism. Any commissioner who tries to change things is vulnerable to dirty tricks campaigns, rumour and innuendo."

In spite of the bad publicity

in recent years, Condon is convinced that it has become a fairer, better trained, better equipped, higher quality organisation since he joined it 25 years ago in the real Dock Green.

"One of the great tragedies is that as all these improvements have taken place the image of the service has dropped." This has arisen, he says, from more critical and questioning attitudes to public services in general; from the police having tried to do too much, failing miserably in some areas; and from miscarriages of justice such as those leading to the release of the Guildford Four and the Birmingham Six.

"I feel a tremendous obligation to try to build the image up again," he says. "We cannot stop crime, but if you are in trouble we can help you very quickly. You will see police officers on reassuring patrol. We will take care of you if you are a victim of crime. The new moral high ground for the police service is around these issues."

The weeks before inauguration are a magical time for presidents-in-waiting. Like a student preparing for college, Mr Bill Clinton has been revelling in the opportunities lying ahead. On the economy, however, the time for tough decisions has arrived.

On Wednesday he is expected to name his economic team. Next week drives of economists, businessmen and policy-junkies will converge on Little Rock for a televised "economic summit". Shortly thereafter, Mr Clinton is expected to outline his strategy for economic renewal before starting lengthy negotiations with congressional leaders. The laudable aim is to have legislation ready for enactment soon after he assumes power in the new year.

Top congressional Democrats now seem likely to gain prominent economic posts in the Clinton administration. Mr Lloyd Bentsen, the Texan head of the Senate finance committee, is all but certain to become treasury secretary. Mr Leon Panetta, chairman of the House budget committee, is a strong contender for budget director. Such appointments would be a shrewd way of ensuring a smooth passage for delicate economic and social legislation: congressional leaders are far more likely to co-operate with respected former colleagues than with outsiders brought in from Wall Street or business.

But in the long run policies matter more than personalities. On economics, the big question is whether Mr Clinton can keep his eye on medium-term structural problems. A succession of respected bodies, including the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and – in Washington – the Brookings Institution, have urged Mr Clinton to take tough action to raise the national savings rate, which fell to a disastrous 2.5 per cent of national income under the Republicans, compared with about 8 per cent in previous years and an average of 10 per

Just do it, Mr Clinton



MICHAEL PROWSE
on
AMERICA

cent in other industrial countries.

Domestic savings and investment rates can diverge a lot in the short run. The link between investment and growth is equally obscure over short periods. But in the long run, a country that does not save or invest much cannot grow much. There is no escaping this fundamental logic. Nor can it be denied that a decade of huge budget deficits – negative saving by the public sector – has done more than anything else to erode US savings. Economic historians will judge Mr Clinton less on his projects, such as new student loan schemes, than on his success in restoring budgetary sanity in Washington.

Fortunately, the path toward budget retrenchment is being smoothed by signs that the economic recovery is taking firmer hold. On Friday, the Labour Department reported the fifth consecutive monthly decline in the unemployment rate – to 7.2 per cent, enviable by European standards. Employment, factory overtime and the length of the average work-week all rose significantly, pointing to a solid increase in industrial production last month.

Friday's employment report followed a run of sparkling numbers. Consumer confidence, factory orders, retail sales, leading indicators, the Purchasing Managers' Index, money supply growth and bank lending are all rising, in some cases substantially. Revised figures for the third quarter showed the economy expanding at an annual rate of 3.8 per cent by far the best

result since the Reagan years. On close inspection, most of these numbers are overstating the economy's strength. Most of the fall in unemployment since June, for example, reflects a shrinking workforce: job gains, so far, are tiny. Consumer confidence usually rebounds after elections and is still far below levels normal for a vigorous recovery. The rise in factory orders was concentrated in volatile sectors such as defence and transport. Consumption has been temporarily lifted by a decline in the personal savings rate from already low levels. Export figures do not yet reflect declining demand in Japan and Europe.

Yet the fact remains that the US is enjoying its seventh straight quarter of growth, in stark contrast to the experience of most other countries. The economy is expanding at an underlying rate of about 2 per cent and seems more likely to gather momentum than to relapse into another semi-recession. Much of Mr Clinton's campaign rhetoric is thus out-of-date. The case for a short-term fiscal stimulus to "grow" the economy was always weak; anything more than a symbolic package would now be irresponsible.

Mr Clinton's original plan was to match spending increases (on education and infrastructure) with tax increases and spending cuts, thus allowing the deficit to decline a little as economic growth picked up. With the economy strengthening of its own accord, this now looks insufficiently ambitious. Coming into office as a business cycle upswing gets under way, Mr Clinton should seize a golden opportunity to raise the national savings rate sharply by progressively cutting the deficit to zero. As the OECD and others have pointed out, this does not require an exceptional effort, merely fiscal measures commonplace in other countries, such as realistic controls on healthcare costs, a scaling back of "middle class" welfare benefits and modest increases in energy and consumption taxes.

Last chance for Maastricht



IAN DAVIDSON
on
EUROPE

In the run-up to this week's European summit at Edinburgh, we are faced with one absolute certainty, and one high probability. The certainty is that everything hangs on the Danish problem. The probability is that, by Saturday night, the Maastricht Treaty of European Union will be dead or dying.

Everything hangs on the Danish problem because, unless it is solved, nothing else can be. Ratification of the Maastricht treaty is the necessary condition for the Community to move ahead on all other fronts. Unless there is an agreement enabling the Danes to reverse their No vote of last June, there cannot be an agreement on a new multi-annual budget package, there cannot be an agreement on subsidies and transparency, and there cannot be an agreement on the admission of new members to the Community.

This morning, nobody has the faintest idea whether there will be an agreement in Edinburgh on the Danish problem, but the omens look poor. The British government has put forward an ingenious draft, which would give Denmark various forms of opt-out from the Maastricht treaty, but British officials do not sound very confident that it will be the basis of a deal. "If there is an agreement," said one UK diplomat last week, "we shall not get it until Edinburgh, and probably not until late on Saturday evening." That means in plain English that the British expect a long struggle which is likely to drag the summit sev-

eral hours into overtime. From a formal point of view, it is a cunning text, because it meets the Danish request for a document which would be "legally binding", without making any formal changes to the treaty.

This may satisfy the lawyers; any ordinary person can see immediately that it is just legal sophistry. It is one thing to concede that, at some future date, taking one thing with another, in the circumstances of the time, and being what they are, the Danish government and parliament of Denmark may not be able to accept a single currency. It is quite different for the Danish government to reach that decision even before the treaty has been ratified. This isn't an opt-out; it is a carve-up; in spirit it is a rewriting of the treaty.

Here we are getting close to the heart of the problem: does Denmark subscribe to the general objectives of the Maastricht treaty or not? The central characteristic of the treaty is that it is a compendium of programmes for future action: EMU, foreign policy and defence, immigration and justice, and so on. If Denmark can announce one of the primary objectives of the treaty even before it comes into force, Maastricht will look like a meaningless scrap of paper.

Actually, if the truth be told, most of the other member states do not care too much about Denmark. As a senior diplomat from the Benelux said last week: "The problem is not Denmark; the problem is

Britain." If Denmark can set such a damaging precedent, Britain may stampede through the gap, and Britain makes a real difference to the political viability of the Community.

Cynics say the Maastricht treaty has in any case been discredited by events. But they do not have any alternative solutions. Monetary union is a logical response to a single market with free capital movements and an exchange rate mechanism. It is obviously very ambitious; but do the cynics believe that the problem will simply go away, or do they imagine that France, Germany and the Benelux will instead try to disband the European Monetary System? If the Eurosceptics defeat the Maastricht treaty (and they may), they will not prevent an inner core of committed countries from seeking alternative routes to a more integrated Europe.

Throughout its presidency, the British government has done its best to turn the Community in the direction of an inter-governmental free-trade area. The attempt has failed – so far. But the Danish protocol looks like the last throw for the same stakes.

If the British draft for the Danish problem is accepted by the other 10 member states, we shall know that they have virtually consigned the Maastricht treaty to the waste paper basket. If it is not accepted by the 10, the odds will rise sharply against Danish ratification. In either event, the situation will start to become clearer, and those who want to go ahead, will go ahead.

ACROSS

- 1 Loosened bosses' grip (6)
- 4 It has a stirring part to play (3)
- 5 It's a strange leader who won't lead (6)
- 6 Man out in storm, reaching peak (3)
- 7 What peace-makers try to do is put at risk (6)
- 10 Assembling a steel plant (6)
- 11 To do a short walk (4)
- 12 Soccer, waltz, except, and they're frightening (10)
- 13 Break off an engagement? (10)
- 14 Stage favourite's come-back (4)
- 15 He looks as though he hasn't washed the back of the neck (6)
- 16 Pardon a sailor's turbulent loves (6)
- 17 New rise goes to artist – a sharp rise (5)
- 18 Possess a wood building, of course (4)
- 19 He's afraid to take the lead (6)
- 20 Convict surrounded by a stack of booty (7)
- 21 The voice of the deer (6)
- 22 With revision tries to take the examination again (5)
- 23 Near the middle (4)

DOWN

- 1 A part that can't be matched (7)
- 2 Flags that purists do not want to see lowered (3)
- 3 Woolly lots of wild geese (5)
- 4 School of rising reputation (4)
- 5 In so many words, go to jail (3)
- 6 Not rounds used in an erratic salvo (5)
- 7 Pardon that's nothing if not negative (7)
- 8 Cancelling a flight (3)
- 9 Convict surrounded by a stack of booty (7)
- 10 Sporting jumper (7)
- 11 Cancelling a flight (3)
- 12 Not straight – future too unsettled (5,2)
- 13 Possess a wood building, of course (4)
- 14 Stage favourite's come-back (10)
- 15 He looks as though he hasn't washed the back of the neck (6)
- 16 Pardon a sailor's turbulent loves (6)
- 17 New rise goes to artist – a sharp rise (5)
- 18 Possess a wood building, of course (4)
- 19 He's afraid to take the lead (6)
- 20 Convict surrounded by a stack of booty (7)
- 21 The voice of the deer (6)
- 22 With revision tries to take the examination again (5)
- 23 Near the middle (4)

The solution to last Saturday's prize puzzle will be published with names of winners on Saturday December 19.

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